



STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS

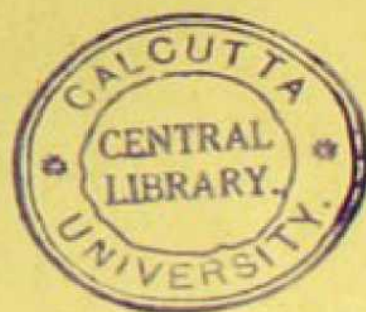
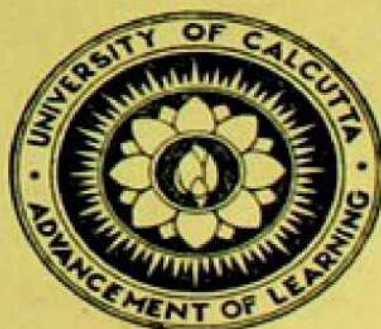
PART I

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PREFACE

The present book is a collection of articles which were published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* and the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* between 1930 and 1934. They contain the results of my examination of manuscripts of the Nepal Darbar Library collection in 1929. I have thought it fit to publish them together in the form of a book, as my future studies in the Tantras will follow the lines suggested therein. As many of the manuscripts referred to in the articles have little chance of being edited and published for a long time to come, I have added in an appendix detailed notices on them.

CALCUTTA ; }
September, 1939. }

P. C. BAGCHI.

ON SOME TANTRIK TEXTS STUDIED IN ANCIENT KAMBUJA

I

The inscription of *Sdok kak Thom*¹ (discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia) mentions the introduction of the mystic cult of Devarāja along with some Tantrik texts in Kambuja during the reign of king Jayavarman II who came to the throne in the śaka year 724 (=802 A.D.). The inscription is a long one and contains the chronicle of the religious foundations of Kambuja during a period of about 250 years. The inscription is not dated, but the last date mentioned therein is śaka 974 (=1052 A.D.). The king, Jayavarman II, came from Java to rule over Kambuja, and the new cult was introduced shortly after his ascent to the throne. The story of this introduction is told in some details in the inscription.² The high priest of Jayavarman was a Brahmanical sage named Śivakaivalya. This Brahmin was enjoying a piece of land in the village of Bhadrayogi in Indrapura given to his family

¹ BEFEO XV, pp. 70-71.

² Ibid :—

- (51) *Hiranyadāma-dviṣa-puṅgavo' gryadhīr
ivāvjayantiḥ karuṇārdra āgataḥ ।*
- (52) *ananya-labdhāṃ khalu siddhim ādarāt
prakāśayāmāsa mahābhṛtaṃ prati ॥*
- (53) *sa bhūdharendrānumato' grajanmā
sa-sādhanaṃ siddhim adikṣad asmai ।*
- (54) *hotre hitaikānta-manaḥ-prasattim
samvibhrate dhāma-vivṛṃhanāya ॥*
- (55) *śāstraṃ Siraścheda-Vināśikhākhyam
Sammohanāmāpi Nayottarākhyam*
- (56) *tat Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam asya
siddhyeva vipras samadarśayat saḥ ॥*
- (57) *dviṣas samuddhṛtya sa śāstra sāram
rahasya-kauśalyadhiyā sayatnaḥ ।*
- (58) *siddhīrvahantiḥ kila devarājā-
bhikṣyāṃ vidadhre bhuvanarddhi-vṛddhyai ॥ A. XXVI-XXIX*

long ago by the kings of Bhavapura (founded by Bhavavarman who was ruling about the middle of the 6th century). He was the guardian priest of a *śivaliṅga* installed in a temple in that village. Śivakaivalya, chosen as the priest by the new king, subsequently accompanied him to different cities founded by the latter. Now, a Brahmin named Hiraṇyadāma came from Janapada (supposed to be some place in India) to the court of the new king Jayavarman and began to exercise a great spiritual influence on him. The king then authorised him to teach the new lore to Śivakaivalya, and to initiate the latter to the new cult. Then Hiraṇyadāma gave Śivakaivalya—*Siraścheda*, *Viṇāśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara*—the four *śāstras* which were the four faces of Tumvuru. Śivakaivalya was also initiated to the cult of *Devarāja* (*Kamraten Jagat ta rāja* in Cambodian). Thus was the new cult introduced in Kambuja. The king Jayavarman, much attracted by it accepted it as the religion of the kingdom, and ordered that the *yatis* of the *mātrvaṃśa*¹ of Śivakaivalya only would be the legitimate guardians of this cult and would have the power to perpetuate it in future.

The *Devarāja* was a *śivaliṅga* and it was one of the most celebrated deities of Kambuja. But nothing is known as to the four “*śāstras*” mentioned which prescribed this cult. Dr. B. R. Chatterji is the first to make some suggestions about their identification.² He relies on the information supplied by Avalon,³ and says, “There were three regions each with its special Tantras and that among the Tantras of the *viṣṇukrāntā* region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the *Sammohana* and the *Niruttara* Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (*Sommoha* and *Nayottara*) taught by Hiraṇyadāma. The Tantras *Muṇḍamālā* and *Chinnamastā* mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as *Siraścheda*—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumvuru (of which, according to the inscriptions, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a gandharva, and there is a *Gandharva Tantra* in the *Viṣṇukrāntā* group.”

¹ BEFEO, XV, pp. 70-71 :

- (1) *tan mātrvaṃśe yatayas striyo vā
jātā vi(dyā-vi)kra(ma)-yukta-bhāvaḥ ॥*
- (2) *taḍ yājakās syur na kathañcid anya
iti kṣitīndra-dviḥja-kalpanāsīt ॥ B. XXXI*

² Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 273-4.

³ Arthur Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, I, Intro., pp. lxx-lxxvii.

The classification, according to the *krāntās*, is not seen in the oldest Tāntrik texts, for example the *Yāmala*s, as far as I know. On the other hand, such classification seems to be arbitrary and of late origin. The names of 64 *Tantras* attributed to each of these *krāntās* seem to be fictitious to some extent. So they do not throw much light on the texts introduced into Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. It is therefore necessary to go back to older and more authentic sources.

According to the oldest traditions known to me¹ the Tāntrik literature is classified according to the *Srotas* (=current, tradition), *pīṭhas* and *āmnāyas*. The *Srotas* or currents are three fold: *dakṣiṇa* (right), *vāma* (left) and *madhyama* (middle). There are the three energies (*śakti-trayaṁ*) of Śiva. Besides these three currents which issue from Śiva, we have reference to other currents: like *Bhairava-srotas* from which distinctive *Tantras* have issued forth. The classification into *pīṭhas* is four fold: *vidyāpīṭha*, *mantrapīṭha*, *mudrāpīṭha* and *maṇḍalapīṭha*. The third classification, viz., that into *āmnāyas*, is more common than the first two. The number of *āmnāyas* varies. But generally they are accepted to be five in number, issuing from the five mouths of Śiva.² Śiva is represented as having four faces turning towards the four cardinal points and one on the top. The eastern (*pūrva vaktra*) spoke the Vedas, the western (*paścima*), southern (*dakṣiṇa*), northern (*uttara*) and the upper (*ūrdhva*) mouths spoke the different kinds of *Tantras*. There is no trace of any classification according to the *krāntās*. The faces of Śiva represent his five aspects. They are known as *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta* and *Īśāna* facing the north, east, south, west and top and representing the aspects of *Īśa*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara*, *Brahmā* and *Sadāśiva* respectively. The original Śaiva canon, the *āgamas*, are classified according to the faces which proclaimed them (see *Hindu Iconography*, II, Pt. II, pp. 366 ff.). We should note in this connection that the *Sadyojāta* mouth which represents the *Brahmā* aspect is the western face, and naturally proclaims the *Paścimāmnāya*.

One of the oldest Tāntrik texts preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library is the *Niśvāsataṭṭva-Saṃhitā* written in the Gupta script of the

¹ This discussion is mainly based on the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* called *Srotanirṇaya*. The MS. of this *yāmala* which I have examined is that preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. It was copied in the Nepal Saṃ. 172=1052 A.D.

² Bhāskara Rāya in his commentary on the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra* (see *Anandāśram Ed.*, p. 24) quotes from Bhagavān Paraśurāma: "Pañcāmnāyān paramārtha-sārārūpān prapīṇāya iti."

8th century A.D.¹ It is a collection of five *sūtras* which form a complete whole but each may be also counted separately and has its own chapters. These five *sūtras* are (1) *Laukika-dharma*, (2) *Mūlasūtra*, (3) *Uttarasūtra*, (4) *Nayasūtra* and (5) *Guhyasūtra*. The last of these five is more extensive than the others together and the first *Laukika dharma* is really ignored by the text itself in counting on folio 276 of the text :

*prathamam mūlasutrāntu dvitīyam ādisamjñitam ।
tṛtīyam prathamam nāma caturtham pūrvasūtrakam ॥*

Thus the four texts are called : (1) *Mūlasūtra*, (2) *Ādisūtra* = *Uttarasūtra*, (3) *Prathama* = *Nayasūtra*, (4) *Pūrva* = *Guhyasūtra*. The *Uttarasūtra* contains the names of 18 old *Siva-śāstras* :

*vijayam prathamam [hy e]śam niśvāsam tadanantaram ।
svāyambhuvam ataś caiva vāthulam tadanantaram ॥
vīrabhadram iti khyātam rauravam mākuṭās tathā ।
virasam candrahāsam ca jñānam ca mukhavimbakam ॥
prodgītam lalitān caiva siddha-santānam eva ca ।
sarvodgītam ca vijñeyam kiraṇam pārameśvaram ॥ (fol. 24a.)*

The same list with some slight variations is given by the *Brahmayāmala* of which a MS. written in 1052 A.D. is preserved in the Darbar Library.² In the 39th chapter (fol. S69b) we find mention of the following texts :

*vijayam caiva niśvāsam svāyambhuvam ataś param ।
vāthulam [vīrabhadram ca rauravam mākuṭāstathā] ॥
vīreśaś ca tathā cānyam tata ūrdhvam nibodhata ।
candrajñānam ca prodgītam lalitam tathā ॥
siddhisattvānakam caiva sarvodgītam ataś param ।
kiraṇam ca mahādevi pārameśvara eva ca ॥*

The second list is corrupt to some extent, though the MS. of the *Brahmayāmala* which we have examined is generally a very correct one. Apparently the tradition about these texts was more living in the time

¹ The Exalted Raj Guru Hemarāja Sarmā who has handled these MSS. for a long time is also of the same opinion. Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī has noticed it in his catalogue, *Darbar Library Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 137. In his introduction to the Catalogue, p. lxxvii, he also says that this MS. "is written in transitional Gupta character which may be a century older than the *Pārameśvara Tantra* copied in 859 A.D."

² See H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 60.

when the *Niśvāsātattva-Saṁhitā* was composed, but it was not so when the *Brahmayāmala* was copied. In the interval the Tāntrik literature had become a fairly extensive one. The Tantras which were therefore considered to be authoritative in the 8th century and even prior to it were: (1) *Vijaya*, (2) *Niśvāsa*, (3) *Svāyambhuvamala*, (4) *Vāthula*, (5) *Virabhadra*, (6) *Raurava*, (7) *Mākuṭa*, (8) *Virasa*, *Vireśa* (?), (9) *Candrahāsa* *Candra* (?), (10) *Jñāna*, (11) *Mukhavimbaka*, *Vimba* (?), (12) *Prodgīta*, (13) *Lalita*, (14) *Siddhi*, (15) *Santāna*, *Sattvāna* (?), (16) *Sarvodbhāta*, (17) *Kiraṇa*, (18) *Pārameśvara*.¹

The second text of the list, the *Niśvāsa*, seems to be the same as the *Niśvāsātattva-Saṁhitā*. We have already noticed that the independent chapter-division of the 4 *sūtras* constituting the text points to the fact that they were studied separately. The word *saṁhitā* also may indicate that it was simply a compilation of different texts. Amongst the four texts, the *ādi* and the *prathama* are the *Uttara* and *Naya-sūtras*. Their very position in the traditional computation: *mūla*, *ādi*, *prathama* and *pūrva* point out to their intimate mutual relation. It seems quite probable that they together constituted our *Nayottara* introduced in Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A.D.). The contents of these two *sūtras* amply show that they were indispensable for the guidance of the priests. We can understand from them how the *Nayottara* could be useful to Śivakaivalya of Kambuja for conducting the newly introduced cult of Devarāja. The *Uttara sūtra* has five sections: (i) *śivālayasthāpana*, *mātrkā*, *homa*, (ii) and (iii) *abhiṣeka* and *dīkṣā*, (iv) and (v) *jñānayoga*. The *Nayasūtra* has 4 sections: (i) *yāsa prakaraṇa* (*yāga*-?), (ii) *prakṛtivicāra*, (iii) *rūpavicāra*, (iv) *paramāmṛta-sadbhāvavicāra* (cf. also Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, pp. 138 f.; his notice is however incomplete). Their date of composition cannot be ascertained at present. But it was certainly composed long before the date of compilation of the four texts together, which also was done much earlier than the date of copying the present text. Thus roughly it may be said that the *Nayottara-sūtras* were

¹ The same list occurs also in the *Kārikāgama* (p. 1), published from Madras by Alagappa Mudaliar. Cf. Also Gopināth Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II, Part I, pp. 367-68. Some of these texts exist in very old MSS. The *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara tantra* are preserved in Nepal. The *Kiraṇa* was found by H. P. Śāstrī in a private collection at Bhatgaon. The MS. is very old and was copied in 924 A.D. See *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, pp. xxiv and 99. The *Pārameśvaramatatantra* is preserved in the Darbar Library, That MS. was copied between the 11th and 12th century A.D. (Śāstrī, *ibid*, pp. xxi and 46). Prof. Bendall mentions an older MS. of that tantra copied in 859 A.D. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.

composed in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., and compiled with the other two texts in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

The *Brahmayāmala* (*loc. cit.*) says that the *Niśvāsa* and the other Tantras mentioned above came out of the middle current and were communicated by the upper mouth of Śiva (*madhyasrota-sambhūtā ūrdhvakatrāt vinirgatā*). In another place (fol. 200a) the *Brahmayāmala* distinctly says that the three texts known as *Sammoḥa*, *Nayottara* and *Śiraścheda* issued from the left current (*vāmasrotas*) :

Sammoḥaṇ ca tathā proktaṁ tathā caiva Nayottaraṁ |
[Śiraśchedaṁ]¹ tathā proktaṁ vāmasrotād vinirgataṁ ||

The same texts are also mentioned in a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* namely the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Sāstrī*, I, Ch. 40, see *infra*) :

savyasrotasi siddhāni śiraśchidra² bhayātmakaṁ |
nayottaraṁ mahāraudraṁ mahāsammohonaṁ tathā |
trikaṁ etat mahādevi vāmasrotasi nirgataṁ |

The fact that the *Nayottara* is here attributed to the *vāmasrotas* (left current) whereas elsewhere it is, as a part of the *Niśvāsatantra* attributed to the *madhyama-srotas* (middle current) should not be considered as a serious obstacle in accepting the identification proposed. We have actually mention of texts coming out of the combined current of *vāma-madhyamayā* (*Vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathāiva hi—Brahmayāmala*, fol. 200a). There are reasons to believe that the classification according to *srotas* was not very well defined.

The manuscripts already discussed, as we have seen, mention two other texts, *viz.*, the *Sammoḥa* and the *Śiraścheda* of the 4 texts introduced in Kambuja. We should not therefore suppose that the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatantra* list were the only Tāntrik texts known in India in the 8th century A.D. According to the *Brahmayāmala* we are led to believe that these were the texts handed down by one tradition only, that of the *madhyasrotas*. The same text refers to the *Yāmalas* coming out from the Bhairava tradition: *Bhairava-srotas*. These *yāmalas* are: (1) *Rudra*, (2) *Kanda* (= *Skanda*) (3) *Brahma*, (4) *Viṣṇu*, (5) *Yama*, (6)

¹ Though this portion is indistinct in the MS. the reading is supported by the text of the supplement, which repeats the same tradition.

² It is evidently a mistake of the copyist for *śiraścheda*.

Vāyu, (7) *Kuvera*, (8) *Indra*.¹ It is true that these *Yāmala*s are not mentioned in the *Niśvāsa-tantra*, but in the *Brahmayāmala* of which we get a MS. copied in 1052 A.D. So they all had come into existence long before this last date. But it is possible to determine the date of their composition more precisely.

The *Brahmayāmala* has its supplements and two of them are preserved in the Darbar Library—(1) *Piṅgalāmata*, (2) *Jayadrathayāmala*. The latter is a very extensive work containing about 24,000 ślokaś divided into 4 *ṣaṭka*s of 6,000 *śloka*s each. The MS. of the *Piṅgalāmata* was copied in the Nepal Samv. 294=1174 A.C. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is a supplement² to the *Brahmayāmala* and is connected with the *Jayadratha*-. In the very first chapter of the *Piṅgalāmata* (fol. 26) it is said: *asya tantrasya Piṅgalāmatasaṃjñā. Pratiṣṭhākalpaṃ Jayadrathādhikāraṃ Brahmayāmalasya anuyāti, Piṅgalābhaṭṭārikāyāḥ nimittāṃ*. The *Piṅgalāmata* therefore presupposes the existence of the *Jayadrathayāmala* and professes to be inspired by the *Brahma*-. The *Jayadratha*- was therefore written long before 1174 A.D. Though the two MSS. (*ṣaṭka*s I and II) noticed by H. P. Śāstrī are of the 16th and 17th centuries.²

- 1 *Brahmayāmala*, ch. 39, *Srotanirṇaya*, fol. 169a :
Rudrayāmalaṃ anyāṃ ca tathā vai Kāṇḍayāmalaṃ |
Brahmayāmalaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalaṃ eva ca |
Yamayāmalaṃ cānyaṃ Vāyuyāmalaṃ eva ca |
Kuverayāmalaṃ caiva Indrayāmalaṃ eva ca |
Bhairavāṣṭāṣṭkaṃ etat Vidyāpīṭhād vinirgataṃ |
Yāmalaṇi tathā cāṣṭau nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ |

The names of the eight Bhairavas also mentioned in this connection, are : *Sacchanda Bhairava*, *Krodha**, *Unmatta**, *Ugra**, *Kapālī**, *Jhaṅkāra**, *Sekhara**, *Vijaya**.

2 Of the *ṣaṭka*s of this text, preserved in the Darbar Library, Śāstrī has noticed only two, I and II. The MS. of the *ṣaṭka* I is dated in Nepal Samv. 843=1723 A.D. (and not Nepal Samv. 847 as stated by Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, p. 1) and the MS. of the *ṣaṭka* II is dated N. S. 762=1642 A.D. The writing of *ṣaṭka* III appears to be of the same period but the *ṣaṭka* IV is preserved in an older MS. The colophon of this Ms. (fol. 339b-340a) runs thus :—

adhigata-sakalaśāstrasya yoginīcandacanditacaraṇayugalasya—eivadhavidyāvidyotitāṃ
tatkarāṇasya—mahākāraṇikasya—mahārājādhirājaśrīmajjayacandradevapūjitasya Kulācār
—yāśrīdharaṇipādevanāmadheyasya śiṣyeṇa paṇḍitaśrījomadevena likhitam iti.

Jayacandra here mentioned seems to be the same as king Jayacandra of Kanauj who fell before the Muḥammadans towards the end of the 12th century. The MS. was therefore

The *Jayadrathayāmala* is distinctly called *Siraścheda*. We have already discussed the texts which mention *Siraścheda* as being handed down by the left current (*vāmasrotas*) and communicated by the *vāmanaktra* (the mouth turning towards the left). All the colophons of the *Jayadrathayāmala* run thus :

iti Bhairavasrotasi vidyāpīṭhe Siraśchede Śrī Jayadrathayāmala-mahātāntre caturvimśatisāhasre Śrīkālasaṅkarṣaṇyām, etc. (cf. Śāstri, loc. cit.).

The frame work of the present tantra is as follows ; “Jayadratha the husband of Duryodhana’s sister and the king of Sindhudeśa renounced the world and settled at Vadarikāśrama in the Himālayas for the purpose of practising austerities. He propitiated the goddess Pārvatī who introduced him to Śiva. The interlocution between these three is the substance of the Tantra. The first question asked was the nature of Mukti (salvation) which was explained according to the *Sāṅkhya* system but Śiva said that the telling on rosary the formula of *Kālasaṅkarṣaṇī* was the easiest and the shortest way to salvation ” (Śāstri, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 2). As regards the names mentioned in the colophon Śāstri remarked in 1905 (*Catalogue*, I, p. xii) that these are “a string of names, the import of which, if it existed at all, is lost ” but in 1915 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 114) in connection with the *Tattvasadbhāvatāntara* he explains them thus, “It is called *Bhairavasrotas* because Bhairava is the speaker and his speech began after he had snatched away the topmost head of Brahmā and put it above his four heads. It is called *Vidyāpīṭha* (sic. *vidyāpīṭha*) because it treats of the goddess *Sundarī*.” But this explanation is not quite correct.

(i) *Bhairavasrotas*, as we have already seen, means the Bhairava current or tradition. There are 8 Bhairavas from whom emanate the 8 *yāmala*s. So other Tantras of the *Bhairavasrotas* either must have been supplements to these 8 *yāmala*s or inspired by them. The *Jayadrathayāmala* emanates from the same Bhairava (*viz.*, the *Unmatta Bhairava*) who narrated the *Brahmayāmala*. Bhairava is conceived as an aspect of Śiva.

(ii) We have already discussed the significance of the 4 *pīṭha*s. *Vidyāpīṭha* is that method of *sādhana* which relies on the *vidyā* or *mantras*.

copied either towards the end of that century or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. The script supports it. The Rājguru Hemarāja Śarmā would attribute to the script used in this MS. a *Kanaujīyā* character ((*Kānyakubjīya-srotas*)).

In the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala* it is the *Kālasaṃkaraṇī* mantra which is of importance.

(iii) The significance of Śiraścheda is still unknown to me. I have not been able to trace the explanation offered by Śāstrī anywhere in the texts but some Paṇḍits of Nepal who are acquainted with the Tantras confirm his explanation. Some of the Purāṇas indeed preserve the story of Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but in a little different way. In the *Kūrmapurāṇa* it is stated that Brahmā was once boasting himself as the greatest God in the universe. Śiva appeared on the scene and claimed that position for himself. Brahmā was, however, obstinate. Thereupon Śiva got angry and ordered his Bhairava to cut off that head of Brahmā which was reviling him. Śiva thereby committed a sin of which he got rid by going on pilgrimage to Benares. The story of this rivalry between Brahmā, Śiva, and also Viṣṇu is told also in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Sivapurāṇa*. In those texts, however, there is no question of cutting the head of Brahmā; Śiva establishes his superiority over the other two as the greatest architect of the universe and proves that Brahmā and Viṣṇu are only his different aspects (see Gopinath Rao: *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 105 ff. and p. 296 ff.). The same story, evidently taken from the Purāṇas, is told by Alberuni (Sachau, II, p. 147); "Brahman was in shape four-headed. Now there happened some quarrel between him and Śaṅkara, i.e., Mahādeva—and the succeeding fight had this result that one of the heads of Brahman was torn off.....Thus the head of Brahman was dishonoured by the hand of Mahādeva, who took it always with him wherever he went and whatever he did.....After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared." This is briefly the story about Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but I have not yet found any reference to Śiva's putting it on his own hand and communicating a class of Tantras through it. But it seems probable that the legend has some bearing on the *Sadyojāta* (lit. just-born) face of Śiva, which represents his Brahmā aspect and through which he narrated some Tantras (see Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*, Part II, pp. 366-77).

It is now quite clear that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a *Śiraścheda* text. Not only the colophons of the text but the text itself clearly speak of it. Thus towards the end of the *Ṣaṭka* III, (fol. 215a) we find the following text:—

*Evam etan mayākhyātān tantram etad anuttamam ।
Vasiṣṭhena purādhītaṃ naranārāyaṇair api ॥*

Brahmaṇā matsamīpe tu śiraśchedaṁ mahābalaṁ ।

Bahumāntraguṇākīrṇaṁ tavādya prakāṣikṛtaṁ ॥

Here the text is quite clear about the identity of the *Śiraścheda* and the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Now the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Piṅgalāmala*¹ (of which we have a MS. dated 1174 A.D.), and apparently in the existing version of the *Brahmayāmala* (Chap. 39, fol. 169a) as "*catuṣkaṣaṭkabhedas tu*" (This MS. of *Brahma* is dated 1052 A.D.). A part of the *Jayadratha* itself is preserved in a MS. of the 12th-13th century A.D. If we admit that it is this *Śiraścheda* which was taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (802 A.D.) then the date of its composition would go back to the 8th century A.D., and necessarily the earlier versions of the *Brahmayāmala* and other *yāmalas* would go back to a still older period.

An apparently later tradition mentions another work as *Śiraścheda*. It is the *Karavīrayoga*, also called *Parātantra*. A MS. of the *tantra* written in Saka year 1681 (1603 A.D.) is preserved in the Darbar Library. The colophons of some of its chapters are to be noticed in this connection :

fol. 21b—*īti śrīmahāśrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantra krama (?) dvādaśasāhasrikāyām kālīkramanirṇayasutram;*

fol. 25a—*īti śrībhairavasrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātantra paramārthanirṇayaḥ;*

fol. 30a—*īti śrībhairavasrotasi śiraśchede mahākaravīrayoge parātantra kālī kulakramaḥ samāptaḥ.*

On fol. 1a the following words are put into the mouth of the goddess :

Sarvasrotodbhavaṁ jñānaṁ tvā[m] prasādā[d] brutaṁ mayā ।

yāmalāṣṭakapurvantu tattvāny ekavidhānita (?) ॥

śiraśchedaś ca bahudhā mahā-santhāna-ṣaṭkaṁ ।

parātantraṁ ca cītkāra (phetkāra ?) sāgarāmbhāmāhāsaṇaṁ,...॥

caturvīṁśati vai lakṣāḥ sarpeṇa tu dhāriṇī[?] ॥

¹ *Karavīra* means a cremation ground ; cf. Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, IV. 55—" *śmaśānaṁ karavīraṁ syāt.*" But the word is also used as the name of particular *śmaśāna* at least in two places. In Nepal a *śmaśāna* was known as *karavīra* (cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, p. 282). In the Tibetan texts we find *Karavīra* as the name of a *Vihāra* in the city of Mālapura (Maṅgalapura?) in Uḍḍiyāna (*Pag Sam Jon Zang*, p. 137, Index, iii; cf. also Taranath, tr. Schiefner, p. 324). It seems probable that in Uḍḍiyāna also there was a particular cremation ground with that name which has been wrongly called a *vihāra*. Some Tāntric practices were to be performed only in the *śmaśānas*. Traces of such practices are also found in Buddhist sources. Cf. *Laṅkāvatāra* (Nanjio), p. 308—

śūnyāgāre śmaśāne vā vṛkṣamūle guhāsu vā ।
palāle'bhyaśakāśe ca yogī vāsaṁ prakalpayet ॥

In this list the *Karavīrayoga* apparently mentions the texts of the school to which it belongs. It mentions the original *Siraścheda* : the *mahāsanthānaṣaṭkakaṃ*. The text here referred to seems to be no other than the *Jayadrathayāmala* containing the extensive *ṣaṭkas*. Thus it is evident that the original *Siraścheda* text was the same as the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The *Karavīrayoga* apparently drew its inspiration from that text.

We have already seen that the *Jayadrathayāmala* came out either of the *vāmasrotas* or the *vāmamādhyamasrotas*. We should rather consider it to be issuing from the *vāmamādhyamasrotas* which was communicated by the western mouth *Paścimavaktra* because the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself speaks of its western origin [cf. *Ṣaṭka* III, fol. 215a : *tadākṣa* (?) *paścimajanma jñātavyaṃ narasattamaiḥ*]. We have also seen that it is the *sadyojāta* face (= *Brahmā*) which turns westward. Thus we understand why the *Jayadrathayāmala*, communicated by the *paścimavaktra* is called *śiraścheda*.

As regards the third text the *Sammoha* introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.D. nothing can be definitely stated at the present moment. We have already discussed the references to this text in the *Brahmayāmala* (MS. copied in 1052 A.C.). There is no doubt that the *Sam-moha* (var. *Sammohana*) mentioned therein was the same as that introduced into Kambuja. So it was known in India long before 802 A.D. when it was taken to Kambuja. It is difficult to determine if this *Sam-moha* had anything to do with the *Sammohanatantra* we get at present. One *Sammohanatantra*, as has been already pointed out by Dr. Chatterji, is attributed to the *Viṣṇukrāntā* region. A *Sammohinītantra* belongs to the *Rathakrāntā* region (see Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, I, lxv, lxvi). We have besides a *Sammohanatantra* preserved in a late MS. in the Darbar Library. Śāstrī (*Catalogue*, II, p. 183) also has noticed this MS. as a new one. The text is written in incorrect Sanskrit. All these texts of the *Sammohanatantra* might have been inspired by the original *Sammohatantra* which still remains to be discovered.

On the last and the 4th text taken to Kambuja in 802 A.D., viz., the *Vināśikha*, no light can be thrown at present. In the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Ṣaṭka* I) we find a list of Bhairavas who had attained success through the *Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī vidyā*. Amongst these Bhairavas we find the names of *Sikhā* and *Vināśikha* Bhairavas. There are *tantras* issuing from some of the *Bhairavas* of this list. There is the name

of *Phetkāri Bhairava* from whom issued the *Phetkāra tantra*. Consequently we are justified in supposing that there was a *tantra* named *Vināśikha tantra* which was connected with the name of *Vināśikha Bhairava*. If this identification is accepted then the *Vināśikha tantra* was intimately connected with the *Śiraścheda*, i.e., the *Jayadrathayāmala* as the Kambuja inscription also would make us believe.

The texts thus being identified, it remains to be seen which is the god mentioned as *Tumburu* and why are the four texts called "the four faces of Tumburu." Dr. Chatterji says that Tumburu is the name of a Gandharva and thinks that he had something to do with the *Gandharva tantra*. But the context has no bearing on any *tantra* connected with the name of *Tumburu*. The inscription would have us believe that all the four texts were connected with that god. Tumburu or Tumburu is recorded in all the lexicons as the name of a Gandharva but no detailed information is available on him. It is the name of one of the Yakṣa worshippers of the Jina (see Hemacandra, *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, I, 41, where the commentator explains the word as *tumbuti ardati vighnān tumburuḥ*). The Buddhist texts mention him as the king of the Gandharvas. Thus in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, Part 2, p. 288) amongst the Gandharva chieftains are mentioned Pañcasikha and Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru. Then again in the *Sakkapañña suttanta* (*ibid*, pp. 302, 303) Buddha being enchanted by the music of Pañcasikha questions him, whereupon the latter tells him the story of his love for Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru, the king of the Gandhabbas. In the story Pañcasikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Belura* wood. The Gandhabba Timbaru is also mentioned in the *Pāsādikasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of these Sūtras the name of the Gandharva is transcribed as *Tan-feou-lu* = *tām-bieu-ru = *tamburu and as *Teou-feou-lou* = *Teu-bieu-ru = *tu(m)buru [*cf. Tripitaka*, New Tokio Ed., Vol. I, pp. 80, 633]. These forms show that in the corresponding Chinese versions the names presuppose the forms *Tamburu*, and *Tumburu*, and not *Timbaru* as preserved in the Pāli texts. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Tumburu on several occasions: in *Ādiparva* (65.51): *supriyā cātibāhuś ca vikhyātau ca hāhā hūhūḥ | Tumburuś ceti catvāraḥ smṛtāḥ Gandharvasattamāḥ ||* and again *Ādi* (159.54): *Gandharvaiḥ sahitaḥ śrīmān prāgūyataś ca Tumburuḥ*. In the first verse Tumburu is evidently used as a general designation of the four Gandharvas: *Supriyā, Atibāhu, Hāhā, Hūhū*, whereas in the

second verse it is used, in all appearance, as the name of one particular Gandharva, who was a musician. Whatever it may be, the number four seems to have been connected with the name of Tumburu, though it is difficult to determine at present whether it was originally the generic name of the four Gandharvas or the name of a particular Gandharva with four faces.¹ But there is no doubt that Tumburu was *par excellence* a musician. He is mentioned as an authority on the musical science.

The *Saṃgītāloka*, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music, cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are : (1) Brahmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Śivā, (5) Rambhā, (6) Tumburu, etc. (.....*Sivanandikeśvara śivārambhāsthātā tumburuḥ*.....cf. Śāstri, *Catalogue*, Vol. II, p. 72, and also Introduction, xxxv). These are the names of gods who revealed music to the mortals. Nandikeśvara is another name of Śiva; Tumburu is a Gandharva. A stringed musical instrument, *Tamburā* is connected with his name. Though

¹ There seems to have been a time when Śiva was four-faced. The *Mahābhārata* preserves its traces (*Anuśāsana*, 141, sl. 5 ll. *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvāda*). Śiva tells Umā that it was simply to see her that he became four-faced through yogic power :

tām didṛkṣur ahaṃ yogāc caturmūrttitvam āgataḥ |
caturmukhaś ca saṃvṛtto darśayan yogam uttamam |
pūrveṇa vadanenāham indratvam anuśāsmi ha |
uttareṇa teyā sārddham ramāmy aham anindīte |
pāścimaṃ me mukhaṃ saumyaṃ sarvapraṇisukhūāhaṃ |
dakṣiṇaṃ bhīmasaṅkāśaṃ raudraṃ saṃharati prajāḥ |

In the *Ādiparva* (216, sls. 22-28, Cal. Ed.) Maheśvara is stated to have done the same thing, i.e., assumed four faces through *yoga* to see the newly created Tilottamā from all sides—"evam caturmukhaḥ sthānur mahādevo'bharat purā." In the sculptural representation also, though Mahādeva should have, according to comparatively late texts, five faces, the figures of the four-faced Śiva are not rare. Gopinath Rao in his *Hindu Iconography* (Vol. II, Part II, pl. cxv and p. 373) reproduces the image of Sadāśiva coming from Ellora. The image has four faces. Mr. Rao for making it agree with traditional form of Śiva says that "The figure has four faces and since all its arms are broken, it is not possible to say how many it originally possessed." But there is no mark of a broken face and there is no difficulty in admitting that it was from the beginning four-faced. At Yun Kang in North China, in the Buddhist sculpture which was directly inspired by Indian art there is a representation of Maheśvara with four faces. It belongs to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. Maheśvara is sitting on a bull. The four faces are turning to four directions. Somebody is standing near him carrying a trident (*triśūla*). See Siren, *Chinese Sculpture*, Vol. II, pl. 34.

there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than *Śiva* himself. Both of them are represented as having four faces, and both of them are authorities on music. If this identification is accepted then a new light can be thrown on the text of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom. The four tantras: *Siraścheda*, *Pināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara* are said to be *Tumburor vaktracatuṣkam*, not because they constituted the four faces of that god but because they issued forth from, or were communicated by, his four mouths (*vaktra*). Besides we should note that *vaktra* really means mouth and not face. The four Tāntrik texts therefore seem to have represented four different *āmnāyas*, connected with the four faces of Tumburu, who was, in all appearance, an emanation of *Śiva* himself like the Bhairavas.

The introduction of the four texts throws some light on another problem, *viz.*, that of the relation of Kambuja with northern India. Dr. Chatterji has already tried to trace some of the elements of Kambuja culture to North Indian origin (*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, p. 253 ff.). Now there are reasons to believe that the four Tantras brought to Kambuja by Hiraṇyadāma were of North Indian origin. The *Piṅgalāmata*, which we have seen to be a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* and to be connected with the *Siraścheda-Jayadrathayāmala*, is very clear on this point. On *folio 5b* we find mention of the countries where the *Śiva-sādhana* was in vogue. It is no doubt the country of the Āryas—the *Āryāvarta*:

√ Vindhyottaragatenaiva Magadhāccāpareṇa tu ।
 Himādrer dakṣiṇe bhāge pañcālāt pūrvatas tathā ॥
 Āryāvarta iti khyātas tadbhavācāryasādhakau ।
 Agrajanmakulodbhūtaḥ sarvasādhāraṇo yataḥ ॥
 Viśeṣaṇaṇ ca tathā brūmi agrāṇīśaktivācakaḥ ।
 Saktyantaṁ janitaṁ janma janmāgrety abhidhīyate ॥
 Ka-pūrvāṣṭavinirmukt[ā] anyadeśodbhavāvapi ।
 Kāmarūpaṇca kāśmīrau kālīṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau ॥
 Kāñcīkośalakāveryā-rāṣṭrajāvapi varjayet ।
 Kimarthaṁ cet tatsiddhyarthaṁ-mokṣārthaṁ sarvajau śubhau ॥
 Sivavratadharācāryo nātidīrgho'tihrasvakaḥ, etc.

This passage mentions the countries of which the people are unfit for *Śivasādhana* on account of their physical deformities. These countries all begin with *ka*: Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kālīṅga, Koṅkana, Kāñci,

Kośala, Kāveri-rāṣṭra (?). This shows that the oldest Brabmanical *tantras* which included the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, the 8 *yāmala* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India. The four texts, the *Nayottara*, *Siraścheda*, *Vināśikha* and *Sammoha*, taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. would therefore be of North-Indian origin.

Thus we see that the four Tantrik texts mentioned in the Inscription of 802 A.D. during the reign of Jayavarman II are partly preserved in old MSS. in the Nepal Darbar Library. The *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya-* and *Uttara-sūtras* which form a part of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, now preserved in a MS. of Gupta writing of the 8th century A.D. It was composed much earlier than the date of the MS. and may be safely placed in the 6th-7th century A.D. The *Siraścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadrathayāmala* of which an extensive text copied in the 12th-13th century A.D. exists in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśikha* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Sammoha*, the original, on which the later Tantras of that name were based. The four Tantras were of North-Indian origin.

Tumbaru appears to have been an emanation of Śiva himself, who is represented as having communicated the four texts through his four mouths.¹

¹ For further details on Tumbaru see *infra* pp. 22 ff.

FURTHER NOTES ON TANTRIK TEXTS STUDIED IN ANCIENT KAMBUJA

The Āgamas and their influence.—The inscriptions of Kambuja abound in references to the Śaivite canon. Various inscriptions refer to *Sivaśāstra*,¹ *Saivāgama*,² *Sarvāgama*,³ and *Saiva-vyākaraṇa*.⁴ *Āgama* means the oldest *Saivite* canon which conformed to the Vedas and had not entirely separated from the Vedic religion like the later Śaiva sects. *Sāstra* was a term synonymous with *Āgama*. Āgamas are generally believed to be 28 in number but we have already discussed the text of the *Niśvāsātattva Saṃhitā*, itself an Āgama, which mentions only 18. We have also pointed out that these 18 Āgamic texts must have existed long before the 8th century. The references to Āgamas in the inscriptions of Kambuja, the oldest of which go back to the beginning of the 9th century, confirm the same view. One of the four texts mentioned in the inscription of Kambuja, viz., the *Nayottara*, at least belong to the Āgama proper while the three other belong to the canon which grew later on under its inspiration. In the inscription of Angkor vat⁵ we find another reference to an Āgamic text: it is the *Pārameśvara* (*tasmin kuru mahadyāgaṃ yathoktaṃ pārameśvare*). This is the *Pārameśvaratantra* also called *Pārameśvaramatatantra* which is one of the 18 Āgamas mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list. It is the 25th of the 28 Āgamas mentioned in later literature.⁶ We have already seen that there is a MS. of the *Pārameśvaratantra* copied in 859 A.D. The work was certainly much older, as it is mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list of which we have a manuscript of about the middle of the 8th century.

In my last article I have tried to show that the original Śaivite canon which contained the 18 Āgamas was of North-Indian origin as, according to them, the best *Sivācāryas* were the Brahmins of Āryāvarta. But the people of the surrounding countries, Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñci, Kośala, Kāveri-Rāṣṭra were not eligible to that position for their physical deformities. By physical deformities we have

¹ Inscription of Phnom Sundak of about the end of the 9th century A.D. Bergaigne, *Inscription de Campa et du Cambodge*, II, p. 157.

² Inscription of Angkor vat, *ibid.*, p. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁵ Bergaigne, *Inscription, etc.*, p. 390; also p. 384 with the note of Barth.

⁶ Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II, Part I, pp. 367-68.

to understand that their statures did not follow the prescribed standard and were either too tall or too short (*atidīrgha atikrasvaka*). Such a conclusion is also substantiated by other evidences. The *Tantrasāra* which is a famous compendium of Bengal Tantrism says on the authority of *Kriyāsārasamuccaya*, *Yāmala* and *Vaiśampāyana-saṁhitā* that the persons with physical deformities of various description, and persons who are diseased, immoral, etc., cannot be *gurus* (*ibid*, p. 3)—*atha nindyagurumāha*—

Kriyāsāra-samuccaye—

*Svitri caiva galatkuṣṭhī netrarogī ca vāmanah ॥
kunākḥī śyāvadantaś ca striṇitaś cādhikāṅgakah ॥
hīnāṅgah kapaṭi rogī bahvāśi bahujalpakah ॥
etair doṣair vihīno yaḥ sa guruḥ śiṣyasammataḥ ॥*

Yāmala—

*abhiśaptam aputraṁ ca kadaryaṁ kitavaṁ tathā ॥
kriyāhīnaṁ śaṭhaṁ cāpi vāmanaṁ gurunīdakām ॥
jalaraktavikāraṁ ca varjayaṁ matimān sadā ॥
sadā matsara-samyuktaṁ guruṁ tantreṇa varjayet ॥*

Vaiśampāyana-saṁhitāyām—

aputro mṛtaputraś ca kuṣṭhī ca vāmanas tathā—— ॥

The same compendium again says on the authority of *Jābāla* (quoted by Vidyādhara-cārya) that the quality of the *gurus* differ according to the countries in which they are born. According to it the best *gurus* are found in the countries of Madhyadeśa, Kurukṣetra, Nāṭa and Koṅkaṇa (or Nāṭa-Koṅkaṇa?), Antarvedi, Pratiṣṭhāna, and Avanti. The Madhyadeśa is Āryāvarta. The *gurus* of the second quality are found in Gauḍa, Śālva, Sura (?), Magadha, Kerala, Kośala and Daśārṇa. The worst *gurus* are those who belong to the countries of Karṇāṭa, Narmadā-Rāṣṭra,¹ Kaccha, Kālinda, Kalamba and Kamboja² (*ibid*, pp. 10-11); *tathā Vidyādhara-cāryadhṛtaṁ Jābālavacanam*—

✓ *Madhyadeśa-kurukṣetra-natakoṅkaṇasambhavāḥ ॥
Antarvedi-pratiṣṭhānāvantyāś ca gurūttamāḥ ॥*

¹ It is evidently the same name as quoted in the list of the *Piṅgalāmata*. Through mistake I connected it with Kaveri and took it to mean *Kaveri-rāṣṭra*. It seems to be a different country and probably is meant for *Surāṣṭra*.

² *Koṅkaṇa*, which is amongst the forbidden countries in the Āgama list, here is placed in the first rank. *Nāṭa-Koṅkaṇa* may however be a mistake for another country. The countries of *Kālinda* and *Kalamba* are not known. *Kālinda* (certainly not *Kālindī*)

Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta—

Gauḍāḥ śālvāḥ surāścaiva māgadhāḥ kerālās tathā ।

Kośalāśca daśārṇāśca guravaḥ sapta madhyamāḥ ॥

Karṇāṭa-narmadā-rāṣṭra-kacchatirodbhavās tathā ।

Kāḷindās ca kalambās ca kambojās cādhamā maṭāḥ ॥

This list was certainly drawn up at a time when the authority of the orthodox Āgamas was a little undermined by a rise of the heterodox schools. But it still shows the old tendency according to which the *ācāryas* of North Indian origin were given the first place.

This throws some unexpected light on the recruitment of *Śivācāryas* in different countries including ancient Kambuja. We have seen that Hiranyadāma came with the new *Śāstras* from a *janapada*, which was most probably a *janapada* in India. The family of Śivakaivalya, who was initiated to these *Śāstras*, was long established in Kambuja. The history of this family, recorded in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom is of great interest. The members of this family enjoyed the priesthood of the king through succession since the time of Bhāvavarman (middle of the 6th century A.D.). They were *Śivācāryas* and were guardians of *liṅga* established in different places. The succession of the priests was determined according to the *mātrvaṁśa* “i.e., maternal lineage” (*tanmātrvaṁśe yatayas striyo vā jātā vidyā vidyā-vikrama-yuktabhāvāḥ, tad-yājakās syuh*.....BEFEO, 1915, p. 62) which implied that the succession was to go to the children of the sisters (*bhāgineya*) or to those of the daughter of the sisters, or the elder brother. There are several cases of such succession recorded in the inscriptions (*ibid*, p. 54). It is difficult to explain the necessity of such an arrangement. Barth in 1901 thought that such an arrangement was necessary because the royal priests used to take the vow of celibacy and therefore they had to choose their successor from the line of their sisters. But M. Finot (*ibid*, p. 56) says that it is difficult to accept this explanation as we hear of priests (though of very late times—11th century A.D.) who were married. It is however clear that the intention was to avoid difficulty in finding a successor because when the branch lines are counted the family has an unlimited scope. But what was the necessity of sticking to a particular

seems to be a mistake for *Kulinda*. *Kamboja* does not seem to be the ancient country of the Kamboja-Gandhara group. It may be the country of the people called *Kam-po-tsa* mentioned in the Tibetan sources and located in Assam. These people seem to have been the predecessors of the modern Koch.

family for the selection of priests? The only explanation that occurs to my mind is that according to the Āgamas the *Śivācāryas* had to be chosen preferably from the Brahmanical families of North-Indian origin. Such families were not numerous in Kambuja. The family of Śivakaivalya was probably a rare one and priests had to be chosen from that family and its branch lines, as the members of them alone were fit to be *Śivācāryas*. In the inscriptions of Kambuja we have several other references to the families of North-Indian origin, of which the members attained the position of royal chaplain. Thus we hear of the royal chaplain Bhaṭṭa Divākara who came from the banks of the *Kālindī* (Yamunā) and was thus an expert in the Vedic sacrifices (Bergaigne, *Inscription*, I, p. 81 ff.). In an inscription of Angkor vat we are told that the royal priest Sarvajñamuni, who was a special adept in the Śaivite rites, came from the Āryadeśa (Bergaigne, *Inscriptions, etc.*, lxxv, 9, p. 388 : *Āryadeśe samutpannaś Śivārādhanaatparahḥ yo yogenāgataḥ Kamvudeśe...*). In the same inscription we hear that a descendant of Sarvajñamuni filled the country called Madhyadeśa (here a part of the ancient Kambuja) with Brahmins versed in the *Veda* and *Vedāṅga* (lxxv, 22 : *cakāra deśam nāmuemān madhyadeśam janākulaṁ vedavedāṅgavidvipraṁ...*). There seems to be a reference here to the immigration of Brahmins from India. In the inscription of Prah vat we find mention of a Brahmin, named Agastya, related to the royal family, who originally came from the Āryadeśa (Bergaigne, *Inscriptions, etc.*, xlv, 5, p. 184 : *atha dvijo-gastya iti pratīto, yo vedavedāṅgavid āryadeśe...*). Such practices were known in India too. The great Cola king Rājendra Cola who built the Rājaraṣeśvara temple at Tanjore is stated to have "appointed Sarvasiva Paṇḍita-Śivācārya as the priest of the temple and have ordered that thenceforth his *Śiṣyas* and their *Śiṣyas* alone, belonging to the Āryadeśa, the Madhyadeśa and the Gauḍadeśa, shall be eligible for the office of chief priest" (*South Indian Inscriptions*, II, 1, p. 105, wrongly referred to as II, 2, p. 153, in *Hindu Iconography*, II, 1, pp. 5-6). We also know that the Malla kings of Bhatgaon (Nepal) had Brahmins from Bengal as their priests. These Brahmin families used to come to Bengal from time to time to contract marriages in order to maintain the purity of their family tradition. This was however the custom most probably in the pure *Sivasādhana*, i.e., *Āgamānta* Śaivism. With the heterodox Śaiva sects like the *Pāśupatas* and others the practice was different. Thus in Nepal the priests of *Paśupatinātha* were recruited only from amongst the South Indian Brahmins (S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, pp. 364-65).

The influence of the Āgamas can also be traced in the Śaivite cult practised in Kambuja and Campā. There are ample evidences in the ancient inscriptions to prove that the constructions of the *Sivaliṅgas* were made according to the prescription of the canon. According to the Āgamas the *liṅgas* can be of two kinds, the *cala*, i.e., movable and the *acala*, i.e., immovable. The *cala liṅgas* are again of different types: *mṛṇmaya*, earthen; *lohaḥaja*, metallic; *ratnaḥaja*, of precious stones; *dāruḥaja*, wooden; *śailaḥaja*, of stone; and *kṣaṇika*, those made for temporary worship. The *lohaḥaja*, i.e., metallic *liṅgas* are made of 8 metals: gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, iron, lead, brass and tin and the *ratnaḥaja* ones are made of pearls, coral, *vaidūrya*, topaz, emerald and bluestone.¹

The *acala* or *sthāvara liṅgas* are of 10 kinds, Svāyambhuva, Pūrva, Daivata, Gāṇapatya, Āsura, Sura, Ārṣa, Rākṣasa, Mānuṣa and Bāṇa. The *Makūṭāgama* calls them *Sthira liṅgas* and divide them into four classes: Daivika, Ārṣaka, Gāṇapa and Mānuṣa.

In ancient Campā Śaivism was the predominant religion and Siva was worshipped mostly in the form of a *liṅga*. A *liṅga* established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. became a sort of national deity for the people of Campā. This *liṅga* is differently called in the inscriptions—Bhadreśvara, Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, and most probably also as Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara (see R. C. Majumdar, *Campā*, pp. 177 ff.). The inscriptions do not generally speak of the materials used for the construction of the *liṅgas*. Many of them, specially the *mukhaliṅgas*, were certainly carved from stone. But we have some references to other types of *liṅgas* too. An inscription of Po-nagar, dated 965 A.D. (Majumdar, II, n° 47), speaks of the gold and stone images of the goddess, i.e., Bhagavatī (*haimī* and *śailamayī pratimā*; inser. n° 45 : *kaladhautadehā*), erected by king Indravarman. This shows that both gold and stone were used in the construction of the images of deities in Campā. Another inscription is more explicit on the point. The *Yang Tikuh* Inscription of Indravarman I (dated 721 śaka=799 A.D.) contains two stanzas which have not been correctly interpreted till

¹ See G. Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, II (i), pp. 75 ff. The Āgamas from which he derives the information are: *Suprabhedāgama*, *Kāraṇāgama*, *Kāmikāgama*, *Makūṭāgama* and *Kiraṇāgama*; cf. *ibid.*, II (a), App. B, p. 3 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, I, Inscr. II, 10; XV, B: 26, XVII, B. 26; XVIII, D. 27, B. 24; and II, Inscr. LXI, C. 11.

now. The stanzas in question are (see Majumdar, II, n° 23, viii and ix) :—

तस्यापि पार्थिवं लिङ्गं स्थापितं श्रीन्द्रवर्मणा ।

इन्द्रभद्रेश्वरो नाम्ना ततयामूत् स एव वा ॥ [VIII]

तस्यैव स्थापितत्वेन इयं कोशचरस्थिरम् ।

समुखचरकोशं हि शक्तिं शशियमाद्रिने ॥ [IX]

Dr. Majumdar translates the stanzas thus : after Bergaigne and Barth : “Indravarman also installed an earthen *liṅga* of the God, which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He also established in the year of the Śakas śaśi yam ādri (721), two treasures for the god, the one composed of movable and immovable property, and the other moveable and with a mouth (priests ?).”¹

The last part of the translation is evidently unintelligible. There is no question of “property” in the text and “a movable treasure with a mouth (?)” does not convey any meaning. *Kośa* here, as in many other cases in these inscriptions, should be taken in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*. *Kośa* was apparently an outer covering of the *liṅga*, and was used probably for decorative purposes. The inscriptions of Campā very often record the gifts of *kośa* made by the kings to the *liṅgas*. These *kośas* were often golden and decorated with costly gems. The *kośas* had sometimes faces and *kośas* with six faces are twice spoken of. We find mention of *Ūrddhva-kośa* which was most probably a detachable one (see Majumdar, *Campā*, I, p. 182). If in the present case we take *kośa* in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*, the text becomes clear. It should then be translated : “Indravarman also installed an earthen (*pārthiva liṅga*) of him (the god) which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He also established, in the Śaka year śaśi-yama-adri (721), two *kośas*, one *cara*, i. e., movable, and the other *sthira*, i. e., immovable. The movable (*cara*) *kośa* had a face (or faces).” The *liṅga* was an earthen one (*pārthiva*) which corresponds to the *mṛnamaya-liṅga* mentioned by the Āgamas and it had two *kośas*, of which one was movable and the other, probably a simple cylindrical one, was a fixed one. The *cara kośa* had a face (or faces) and thus when fixed to the *liṅgas* used to convert it into a *mukhaliṅga*. The two words *cara*

¹ Bergaigne, *Inscriptions, etc.*, II, p. 33 et 37—VIII-IX : “Śrī-Indravarman a érigé aussi un *liṅga* terrestre de ce dieu, qui a été appelé désormais d'un autre nom Indrabhadreśvara. Il a aussi constitué pour lui deux trésors : l'un composé de biens meubles et doué d'éloquence,” (les prêtres du temple—Barth).

and *sthira* naturally remind us of the two types of *liṅga*, *cala*, movable and *acala*, immovable, also called *sthira* or *sthāvara* in the *Āgamas*.

In ancient Kambuja the *liṅgas* used to be made of metal as well as precious stones. We have references to *liṅgaṁ haimasobham*, *suvarṇamayaliṅga*, *svaṇṇaliṅga*, *kaladhautaliṅga*, *sphaṭikaliṅga* and *maṇiliṅga*. The materials used for the construction of these *liṅgas* therefore were chosen in accordance with the prescription of the *Āgamas*. They all were of the type known as *calaliṅga* and fell under its subdivisions: *śailaja*, *loka* and *ratnaja*.

The four faces of Tumburu.—I have already tried to establish that the four Tantrik texts *śiraścheda*, *vināśikha*, *sammohana* and *nayottara* mentioned in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, were authentic Śaivaśāstras, being studied in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. if not earlier. These texts constituted the "*vaktracatuṣkam*"¹ of the god Tumburu and were introduced in Kambuja for establishing the mystic rites known as *devarāja* (*siddhiḥ.....devarājābhikhyā*). Tumburu evidently had some sort of connection with the *Devarāja* cult. *Devarāja* was a phallic representation (*liṅgarāja*) of Śiva—and we have already seen that Tumburu was an emanation of Śiva himself. The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom tells us that the first temple of *Devarāja* was built by Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) in his new capital Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen), and the royal chaplain Śivakaivalya was appointed priest. The deity was subsequently taken to Hariharālaya where the capital was shifted. Afterwards when the king Paramaśivaloka (*i. e.*, Yaśovarman: 889-910 A.D.) built his capital at

¹ We have now a definite text before us which supports the identification of Tumburu with Śiva. In the *Yogavāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa* (*Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa*, I, XVIII, 23-26), compiled before the 9th century A.D. the following verses:

ity aṣṭaiścārya-yuktās tā mātaro raudra-eeṣṭitāḥ |
kaḍācinmilitā cyomni sarvāḥ kenāpi hetunā ||
utsavaṁ paramaṁ cakruḥ paramārthaprakāśakam |
cāmasrotogatā etās Tumburuḥ Rudram āśrītāḥ ||
pūjayitvā jagatpūjau devau Tumburu-Bhairavau |
vicitrārthāḥ kathāś cakrur-madīrā-madatoṣitāḥ ||

These things are spoken of the eight *mātṛkās* who were one day out for amusement. They are here characterised as the followers of the left current (*cāmasrotogatā*) and related to Rudra who is Tumburu, *i. e.*, the Tumburu aspect of Rudra (*Tumburuḥ Rudram*). The eight-*mātṛkās* are here made to worship the two gods Tumburu and Bhairava. This passage clearly mentions Tumburu as an aspect of Rudra. It should also be noted that Śiva is often referred to in the inscriptions of Kambuja as *Caturāṇana*, *Caturmukha*, etc. Cf. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions, etc.*, II, n° LXIV (p. 377); n° XLIV (p. 189); n° LV (p. 213).

Yosodharapura (Angkor Thom) he brought the deity to the new capital and placed him in the temple of *Vnam kāntāl* (lit. the central mount, which was built in the centre of the city for receiving the deity).

This central edifice erected by Yaśovarman was for a long time believed to be the Bayon which is situated just in the centre of Angkor. But M. Finot in his recent studies (*Études Asiatiques*, Vol. I, p. 245 ff.) has tried to show that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has told a lie. A detailed examination of the sculpture of Bayon has led M. Finot to believe that Bayon could not have been originally a Śaiva temple. He thinks that the newly built capital of Yaśovarman was not placed under the protection of the *liṅga* Devarāja, the national deity of Kambuja, but under that of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Necessarily he was led to conclude that Angkor Thom and Bayon were not built by king Yaśovarman, as the inscription would have us believe, because he was a Śaiva, but by his predecessor Jayavarman II who was a Mahāyānist. Yaśovarman according to him played the part of a vandal and changed Bayon into a sanctuary of the *liṅga*. The principal reason for starting this theory was that the sculpture of Bayon is almost entirely Buddhist. But it might be argued that the temple was begun as a Buddhist one and finished as a Śaiva one. But to this objection M. Finot answers that even in several *niches* of the towers the central figures were originally those of Buddha. They were later on deliberately destroyed and replaced by *liṅga*. Another serious difficulty remained to be explained away. Each tower of Bayon is decorated with four colossal faces turning towards the four cardinal points. In 1911 M. Finot interpreted them as the architectural translation of a *caturmukhaliṅga*. He, however, gives up that explanation in the light of later researches and now thinks that they represent the faces of the Avalokiteśvara. He is aware of the fact that no such architectural representation of Avalokiteśvara is at present available but he still supposes that the architect wanted to represent Avalokiteśvara as looking in the four directions and thus protecting the city on all sides. M. Finot would therefore conclude that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has distorted the facts. Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple and Yaśovarman, who was a staunch Śaiva, could not be its founder. It was founded in the time of Jayavarman II (802-869 A.D.) who was a Buddhist king.

But M. Philippe Stern in his study on the evolution of the Khmer Art (*Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Évolution de l'Art Khmer*, 1927) has questioned the hitherto admitted chronology of the monuments of Angkor on grounds of style. According to him, Bayon did not exist in the time of

Yaśovarman. Therefore, the central mount (*Vnaṁ kantāl*) of Yaśovarman has to be searched for elsewhere. He thinks that it should be identified with the *Phimānakas* which, in all appearance, occupied the central position in the old city. The city developed in course of subsequent centuries and its centre was naturally removed. According to the chronology proposed by him, Bayon could not have been built before the time of Udayādityavarman II (1049-1052 A.D.) or that of his predecessor Sūryavarman I (1002-1049 A.D.). The outer walls of the city would belong to this period.

But M. Coedès in a recent study (BEFEO, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.) has tried to prove that Bayon was built still later during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A.D.). According to him the outer walls of Angkor Thom and some other buildings, which are of the style of Bayon, were constructed in the same period. Thus both M. Stern and Coedès agree in placing Bayon and the outer walls of the city in the same epoch though they do not assign the same date to their construction. Both of them disbelieve the testimony of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which clearly attributes the foundation of Yaśodharapura (*i.e.*, Angkor Thom) and *Vnaṁ Kantāl*, "the central mount," to Yaśovarman.

This inscription, we have already seen, was composed in Śaka 974 (=1052 A.D.). The date of its composition therefore falls in the period to which M. Stern would attribute the construction of Bayon. It seems strange that a contemporary inscription would mean by *Vnaṁ Kantāl* any other edifice except the Bayon. What is possible is that the traditional history of religious foundations, which it records, is confused. Its attribution of the foundation of Bayon to Yaśovarman may therefore be easily questioned but Bayon was certainly considered as a sufficiently old edifice in the middle of the 11th century for affording scope for confusion about its real founder to the author of the inscription.

According to M. Coedès and M. Stern, the construction of Bayon and the outer walls of the city would fall in the same period. The towers of Bayon and those of the five city-gates are all decorated with four colossal faces. What do these four colossal faces represent? Are they the representations of the faces of Avalokiteśvara, as M. Finot thinks? Even admitting that Jayavarman II has not directly, but through his tradition, influenced the construction of Bayon, it is difficult to believe with M. Finot that he was a Buddhist king. M. Finot takes him to be a Buddhist—firstly, because he came from Java (or Śrīvijaya) which was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this period and—secondly, because he

founded the city of Amarendrapura, formerly identified with the ruins of Bantay Chmar which is completely a Buddhist city to judge from the sculptures. But the identification of Amarendrapura with Bantay Chmar has been reasonably questioned by M. Stern (*loc. cit.*). We should also bear in mind that the posthumous name of Jayavarman II is *Pa'ameśvara* (the Supreme Lord—Śiva). The cities which he built—Mahendraparvata, Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura are all connected with the names of Śiva. The last name seems to be only a different form of Devarāja. The priest whom he chose as his chaplain, Śivakaivalya, was a Śaiva and came from a Śaiva family. It was again he who authorised Hiraṇyadāma to introduce the texts of Śaivāgama along with the Śaiva cult of Devarāja into Kambuja. He really made it the religion of the state, erected its temples and granted lands to the priestly family for its maintenance. Besides it would be wrong to say that the sculptures of Bayon have no trace of Śaivism. An important bas-relief of the first gallery of Bayon (see Comaille, *Guides aux Ruines d'Angkor*, p. 135, n. 36) represents three temples in one row, of which the towers bear tridents (*triśūla*) and the deity in the centre is a *Sivaliṅga*. In the face of these facts, it is difficult to admit that Jayavarman II was a Buddhist king and that he introduced Mahāyāna from Śrīvijaya into Kambuja. There is no reason to suppose that the four Tantrik texts brought by Hiraṇyadāma had anything to do with Mahāyāna. Jayavarman II was a Śaiva. If any one of the edifices (for example Bantay Chmar, Bayon, etc.), containing some Buddhist sculptures can even be proved to have been constructed in the time of Jayavarman II, the only possible explanation is either that he was a tolerant king and allowed Mahāyāna to flourish in the country, or that he had employed artists who had come from the neighbouring territory of Śrīvijaya and had Mahāyānist training. It will be wrong to suppose that Mahāyāna Buddhism of the 8th-9th century A.D. was very much antagonistic to Tāntrik Śaivism. Though the sculpture of the temples partly seem to be Mahāyānist, the indwelling deity was no doubt Śiva.

It seems difficult to admit that Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple. The state religion of Kambuja was always the cult of Devarāja. A temple like Bayon, which is situated just in the centre of the city,¹ could

¹ The question of the date and position of the Bayon has become more complicated after the recent trial excavations made by MM. Coedès and Goloubew at Angkor (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1932, p. 40). I do not pretend to hold to the suggestion which has occurred to me in regard to the date and position of the temple in this article. It is, I hope, clear from the article that my main contention bears on the significance of the four colossal faces over the towers and gateways.

not therefore have been meant for any other deity except Devarāja. If in some of the *niches* of the towers of Bayon the figures of Buddha have been deliberately destroyed and substituted by *liṅga* we must attribute that work of vandalism to a period when the king was a very orthodox one and did not even tolerate the sculptural representation of Buddha in the temple of Devarāja, as his predecessors used to do. It is therefore necessary to go back to the older theory of M. Finot that the four faces of the towers of Bayon (as well as those of the towers of the city gates) are the sculptural representation of the four faces of Siva. Devarāja was in all probability a *mukhaliṅga* and it was quite natural that the towers of its temple and those of the city-gates constructed in the same period would bear the *mukhaliṅga* symbol. This explanation seems to have a strong support in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which says that the four *śāstras* which prescribed the cult of Devarāja constituted the *four faces of the Tumburu*. It may not be therefore improbable that the four colossal faces on the towers are architectural translation of the four faces of Tumburu, *Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam*, mentioned in the inscription, because, it is through those four faces that the god originally communicated the four fundamental texts which prescribed the religious rites of the king and his people. They are the symbols of the different *āmnāyas* of the Saivite canon.

THE SANDHĀBHĀṢĀ AND SANDHĀVACANA

III

Prof. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī in an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1928, pp. 287ff.) has tried to determine the exact meaning of the expression *Sandhābhāṣā*. He has collected a large number of facts which justifies us in rejecting the old interpretation suggested by Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī as "the twilight language" (*ālōāndhārī bhāṣā*). There can be no doubt that the proper reading of the expression is *Sandhābhāṣā*, and not *Sandhyā-bhāṣā*, though it occurs in a large number of badly copied Nepalese manuscripts. The large number of texts quoted by Prof. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī has enabled him to interpret it as *ābhiprāyika vacana* or *neyārtha vacana*, i.e., "intentional speech." This interpretation is in agreement with the Chinese translation of the word as "secret, hidden," and thus "that of which the sense is to be made clear" (= *neyārtha*). *Ābhiprāyika* means that "it is intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the words." (V. S. Śāstrī, *loc. cit.*, pp. 293-294.)

I leave it undecided for the present whether the expression *Sandhāvacana* was used in the ancient texts like the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* to emphasise on any deeper meaning of the particular texts in connection of which it is used. But there is no doubt that it was used to mean a symbolical language to signify "something different from what is expressed by the words" in the later Buddhist texts belonging to the *Vajrayāna* and the *Sahajayāna*. It is evident even from the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* published by H. P. Śāstrī. The expressions like "*nagara bāhīre dombī tohori kuḍiā*" (p. 19), "*ālīē kālīē vāṭa rundhelā*" (p. 14), "*Kakkolapriyabola-melakatayānanda sphurat-kundarāḥ | Sadyaḥ śodhita śālilālītākārāḥ kālīñjarāś cakriṇaḥ*" (comm. p. 33), etc., cannot convey any meaning, if interpreted literally. We have, therefore, to assume that there is some hidden meaning in them.

The *Hevajratantra*, a canonical text of the *Vajrayāna*, not yet much studied, contains a chapter on the *Sandhābhāṣā*. It gives the clues to the interpretation of many symbolical words (*Sandhāvacana*) used in the *Vajrayāna* and *Sahajayāna* literature. It is difficult to determine the age of the *Hevajratantra* at present but it must have been compiled before the

beginning of the eleventh century A.D., when it was translated into Chinese by Fa-hu (Tokio edition, XXVII, 3). There is also a Tibetan translation of the text. The great importance of the text in the *Vajrayāna* literature may prove that it probably belonged to the very early days of the *Vajrayāna* (7th-8th centuries A.D.).

The 13th Chapter¹ of the *Hevajra* deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā*—*Hevajra-sarvatantranidāna-sandhābhāṣā nāma paṭalaḥ*). In this chapter *Sandhābhāṣā* is characterised as the *mahāsamaya* (= Chinese *ta san-mei-ye*, great *Samaya*) of the *yogīs*, and also as “the great language” (*mahābhāṣam*) and is “full of the meaning of doctrines” (*Samaya-saṅketa vistaraṁ*). The Chinese translation of the text is a faithful one. The word *Sandhābhāṣā* is rendered as *fang pien shuo*. *Fang-pien* means *āupāyikam* (cf. *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Sakaki, 6339). Rosenberg (Vocabulary, p. 222) interprets *fang pien shuo* as *°aupacārikah*. *Fang-pien* is used here as an equivalent of *Samaya*, i.e., special doctrine of the school represented by the *Hevajratantra*. The doctrine is summarised in one stanza which occurs in the beginning of the *tantra* for explaining the word *Hevajra*—

Hekāreṇa mahākaruṇā vajraṁ prajñā ca bhāṇyate ।
Prajñopāyātmakam tantram tanme nigaditam śṛṇu ॥

This is the fundamental doctrine of the *Vajrayāna* as has been explained in such works as the *Prajñopāyaviniścaya-siddhi* of Anaṅgavajra, recently published by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The passage which deals with the *Sandhābhāṣā* has been established from a collation of the three different manuscripts, and the Chinese translation :—

[D, fol. 9^a-9^b; P, 26^b-27^b]

भगवान्प्राह—

इत्येह वक्ष्यमर्हस्यं शृणुत्वमेकचेतसा ।

सन्ध्याभार्य महाभार्य समयसङ्केतविस्तरं ॥

¹ This corresponds to the 3rd Chapter of the 2nd *Kalpa* of the Sanskrit text. The Sanskrit MSS. of the text are divided into two *Kalpas*, of 10 chapters each. In Chinese translation, however, the numbering of the chapters is continuous; thus the 3rd Chapter of *Kalpa* II=Chapter 13; I have consulted three MSS. of the *Hevajratantra*,—the MS. in the Nepal Darbar Library (D), that in the possession of Prof. G. Tucci who kindly lent it to me (T) and the last one in my possession (P).

मदनं मयं वलं मांसं मलयजं मीलनं तथा ।
 गतिखेटः^१ शवः^२ श्रावः^३ अख्याभरणं^४ निरंशुकं^५ ॥
 आगतिः प्रेषणं प्रोक्तं कृपीटं^६ डमरुकं^७ मतं ।
 अभव्यं दुर्दुरं^८ भव्यं कालिञ्जरं मतं ॥
 अस्पृशं डिण्डिमं^९ प्रोक्तं कपालं पद्मभाजनं ।
 भक्तं त्रिकरं श्रेयं व्यञ्जनं मालतीश्वरं ॥
 गृथं चतुष्पदं प्रोक्तं मूवं कलूरिका श्रुताः ।
 स्वयम्भू सिद्धकं श्रेयं शुकं कर्दूरकं मतं ॥
 महामांसमालिजं प्रोक्तं शीन्द्रिययोगं कुन्दरु^{१०} ।
 वज्रं बोलमिति^{११} ख्यातं पद्मं कर्कोलकं^{१२} मतं ॥
 कुलं पञ्चविधं ख्यातं वर्षभेदेन भेदितं ।
 सन्धाभाषा एता स्युः बुद्धाय पञ्च कौलिकाः ॥
 डोम्बी वज्रकुली ख्याता नटी पद्मकुली तथा ।
 श्वपची^{१३} रवकुली चैव द्विजा तायगती^{१४} मता ॥
 रजती कर्णकुली चैव एता मुद्राः सुसिद्धिदाः ।
 आसा शुकं भवेत् वज्रं पूजयित्वा पिबेत् व्रती ॥
 वज्रगर्भमहासत्व यन्मया कथितं त्वयि ।
 तत्सर्वं सादरं याच्यं सन्धाभाषं महद्भूतं ॥
 योऽभिषिक्तोऽव ह्येव न वदेत् सन्धाभाषया ।
 समयविद्रोहनं तस्य जायते नात्र संशयः ॥
 इत्युपद्रव चौरैश्च यद्वञ्चल विबुद्धोऽपि ।
 मियतेऽसौ यदि बुद्धोऽपि सन्धाभाषं न भाषयेत् ॥
 स्वसमयविदा प्राप्य यदि न भाषयेदिदं वचः ।
 तदाचोभं प्रकुर्वन्ति योगिन्य यतुष्पीठजाः ॥
 हेवञ्च सर्वतन्त्रनिदानसन्धाभाषा नाम पटलः तृतीयः^{१५} ।

^१ T, खेटः, P, खेटा. ^२ शवः ^३ T, श्रूया, P, श्राय. ^४ P, अख्या^०.

^५ P, निरन्तुकः. ^६ D, कृपीनं, T, कृपीटं, P, कृपीटा.

^७ D, दमरुका, T, डमरुकं, P, डमरुकः. ^८ T, दुन्दुरं, P, दुन्दुरं, D, कालिञ्जरं.

^९ D, डिण्डिमं, T, दिण्डिमं, P, तिण्डिम. ^{१०} T, कुन्दरी. ^{११} T, बोलकं ;

^{१२} कर्कोलकं. ^{१३} D, श्वपची, T, चण्डाली, P, श्वपचि. ^{१४} D, तायगती, P, तयागता.

^{१५} Instead of the reading सन्धा (sandhā) we have sandhyā or sandhyā in all the texts.

I have, however, accepted the corrected reading of the word.



The words used in the *Sandhābhāṣā* are according to the preceding text the following ¹ :—

madana (Ch. *mo-nien*) = madya ; Ch. *kuo she* "fruit-provision" ?

vala² (Ch. *mi-lo*) = māṃsa ; Ch. *keou tchao* "search-extract" ?

kheta (Ch. *k'o-tcha*) = gati; Ch. *kin*, "to go."

prekṣaṇa (Ch. *pi-li-k'o-nan*) = āgati; Ch. *lai*, "to come."

asthyābharāṇa (Ch. *a-sa-tie-p'o-lo-nan*)

=niramśuka; Ch. *tchou pao*, "ratna"?

ḍamaruka (Ch. *man-nou-lou* ?) = *krpiṭa* ; Ch. *kou-yin*, "drum."

durdura (Ch. *nou-lo-nou-lo*)=abhavya; Ch. *pouo to jen*,

a man of bad qualities.

kālīñjara (Ch. *ko-leng-jo-lo*) = bhavya; Ch. *shen jen*, "good man."

qin-dima (Ch. *ning-ni-mon*) = aśparśa; Ch. *wou tch'ou*, "not-strike."

kapāla (Ch. *k'ie-po-lo*) = padmabhājana; Ch. *lien-houa-k'i*, "lotus-vase."

trptikara (Ch. *ti-wang* ?-*po-to*) = bhakta; Ch *yin-che*, "food."

mālatīndhana (Ch. *mo-lo-ling* = vyāñjana; Ch. *ts'ai-che*,

"vegetable food."

gūtha (Ch. *yuan-touo*) = catussama; Ch. *sseu p'ing teng*, "four-equal."

mūtra (Ch. *mon-to-to*) = kasturikā; Ch. *miao-hiang*, "good-smell."

silhaka (Ch. *si-lo-kan*) = svayambhū; Ch. *tseu-jen-sheng*, "self-born."

śūkra (Ch. *shou-kie-lo*) = karpūra; Ch. *tsao-tso*, "create-do"?

mahāmāmsa (Ch. *mouo-so*) = ālija ? ; Ch. *pao-she*, "white colour."

Ch. $yu^3 =$

Ch. *siang-ying*, "yoga, yukta."

bola (Ch. *mono-lo-kan*)=*vajra* ; Ch. *kin kang*, “*vajra*.

kakkolaka (Ch. *kou-lo-kan*) = padma ; Ch. *lien houa*, "lotus."

[kulaṁ (Ch. *kou-lien*) = Ch. *pou-lei*, "class."

varṇa (Ch. *poua-lo-na*) = Ch. *yu fen pie wou fen pie*, i.e. "bhedaḥbheda"].⁴

ḍombi (Ch. *non-mi*) = Vajrakuli ; Ch. *kin kang pou*, "vajra class."

na-ti (Ch. *na-ti*) = Padmakuli ; Ch. *lien houa pon*, "padma class."

can³lāi (Ch. *tsan-na-lii*) = Ratnakulī ; Ch. *pao-pou*, "ratna class."

dvi-jā (Ch. *nei-jō-to?*) = Tathagatī; Ch. *jon lai pou*, "tathāgata class."

¹ The Chinese transcription of the words are given within brackets. The Chinese translation of the word is given at the end. For the Chinese translation see Tok., XXVII, 3, p. 74ⁿ, 3-10.

² The Chinese translation omits two words of the original *malayojaṃ milanam* and *śaraḥ śrūṣaḥ*.

¹ This seems to be an incomplete and faulty transcription of the original *kunduru*.

⁴ The translator evidently has made a confusion here. The text simply means that there are five classes differentiated by the colours.

rajakī (Ch. *lan-jo-kin*) = Karmakulī ; Ch. *kie-mo-pou*, " karma class."
[Mudrā (Ch. *mu-to-lo*) = ? *miao tcheng* ; ¹ Ch. "will achieve i.e.
susiddhidāh."]

These are not, however, all the words of the *Sandhāvacana* class, as we have many others mentioned in different places either in the commentaries on the *Dohās* or in the *Hevajratāntra*. I will only mention a few of them here—

āli, *kāli*—these two words literally mean "vowels" and "consonants." See Bacot, *La grammaire de Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, p. 1 ; *āli kāli candra sūrya prajñopāya*—*Hevajra* (Chap. I) ; *lokajñānena ...lokābhāṣena ca*—*Oāryācāryaviniścaya* (com., p. 15).

lalanā, *rasanā*, *avadhūti*—these are the names of the three principal of the thirty-two arteries—*lalanā prajñāsabhāvena rasanopāyasamsthītā* | *avadhūti madhyadeśe tu grāhyagrāhakavarjitā* || *Hevajra* (Ch. I).

Some of these technical words—*bodhicitta*, *samarasa*, *karin*, *giri*, *evam-kāra*, etc., have been explained by M. Shahidullah with the help of the commentary in his *Les Chants Mystiques* (Paris, 1928, pp. 9-10).

In the chapter (*paṭala*) which follows the preceding one (*Piṇḍārthanāma paṭalaḥ*, Chap. 4 of Part II of our MSS. of the *Hevajra* = Chap. 14 of the Chinese translation, Tokio, XXVII, 3, p. 74a) the Lord explains some doctrines in the *Sandhābhāṣā*. The passage is faithfully transcribed in the Chinese translation (*ibid*, p. 75a, 11-13). We will first give the original text as collected from the three different manuscripts already mentioned and then the Chinese transcription, as given in the translation :—

कोल्लदरे ठिअ बोला मुम्भयिरे कळोला ।
घन किविड हो वाज्जइ कइणेकि अइ न रोला ॥
तहि वल खज्जइ गादे मअणा पिजिअइ ।
इले कालिञ्जर पणिअइ दुइ र वज्जिअइ ॥
अउसम कम्मुरि सिद्धा कप्पर लाइअइ ।
मालइ इअन सालितहि भरु खाइअइ ॥
देइअ खेट करन्ते मुहामुह अ माणिअइ ।
निरसुअ अइ चइविअइ जसरावि पणिअइ ।
मलअज कुन्दुरु वटइ डिण्डिम तहि अ वजिअइ ॥²

¹ *Miao-tcheng* in the Chinese text is wrongly taken as an equivalent of the word *mudrā*. The original text means that the five *mudrās*—*dombī*, *naṭī*, *caṇḍālī*, *deijā* and *rajakī* conduce to perfect *siddhi*.

² D, कल्लदले, T, कोल्लयिरे ; D, किविडि, P, किविट ; D, वालंर ; T, वाज्जइ ; P, वेज्जइ ; D, अइन लोला ; T, अनरोला : D,P, वल ; T, वल, Chinese चल ; T, खोज्जइ ; D,P,

Chinese transcription (p. 74a, 17-20).

kaI-lo-yi-li ch'e-a moū-lô mou-ni-li kô-koū-lo |
 kiu ki-pi-cha hoū wei-jo-yi kie-lou-ni-ki a-yi-loū-lô ||
 ta-hi tso-lo k'ie-jo-yi ngô-ch'e mo-ye-nā pi-jo-a-yi |
 ho-lei kô-leng-jo-lo po-ni-a-yi nei-nou-lou wei-eul-a-yi ||
 tso-wu-san-mo kie-chu-li si-lo + hô kie-pou-lou lô-yi-a-yi |
 mô-lo-yi yin-ta-na so-lei ta-hi p'o-lou hô-yi-a-yi ||
 pi + leng-kie-na k'ie-cha k'ie-leng-ti shou-ta nou jo-ni-a-yi |
 ni-lien-shou ying-ye tso-nā-wei-a-yi
 tan-hi ji-sa-lô p'ou-a-wei po-ni-a-yi |
 mo-lei-yi-ji kong-nou-lou wei-cha-yi
 ning-ni-mo to-hing wei-jo-a-yi ||¹

Most of the words in the above passage belong to the *Sandhābhāṣā*. The other words are in their *Apabrahṃśa* forms—*thia* = to stay, from *sthā*; *bājai* "to beat (the drum)" from *vādya*; *khaijai* "to eat" from *khāda*; *pijai* "to drink" from *piva*; *pañiai*, "to bow into" from *pra-ṇama*; *bajjai* "to abandon" from *varja*; *laijai* "to take"; *khaijai*, *karānte*, *māñiai*, *ca'abiai*, *pañiai*, *bañiai*, etc., also are to be explained as *Apabrahṃśa* forms which we find in the *Dohās*. The *Sandhāvacana* in the passage are :—

kakkola = *padma* "lotus."

kibiḍa from *kṛpīṭa* = *damaruka*, i.e., "drum."

baḷa = *māṃsa*, "meat."

maane from *madana* = *madya*, "wine."

पिञ्जिषद; T, पिञ्जिषद; D, डरे; D, कालिञ्जल; D, पञ्चिषद; P, T, दुन्दुर; D, वज्र न चद; P, वज्रिषद; D, omits कर्पूर; T, कर्पूरक; P, इजद; T, ईचई; P, लादचद, D, मालती इम्बन; D, सारितहि; T, सालिचतहि; P, सालि तहि; D, प्रखन; प्रेखन; P, प्रेखुन; Ch. प्रेखव; D, खेरिन्न; T, छद; P, खेट; D, T, यद्वायद; D, न मनेद; T, न मुचिषद; P, न मासिषद; D, निरयुक्त; P, निरसुद; D, चप, Ch, चडावीतद; P, चचयीषद; P, चडावित; D, असनारिपचीषव; T, असरावपरिषद; P, चसरवि; D, मलजे; T, मलयार्ज; D, वाटद; P, वाटिद, D, लहि, T, जहि, P, तहि, वल्लुचद, T, वार्जचद, P, वजीचद।

¹ *nei*, *nou*, *na*, *ning*, *ni* stand for ancient *ndei*, *ndou*, *nda*, etc., *eul* for *ji*; there is often confusion between *mo* and *wei*, for the Chinese characters are similar. The vowels are lengthened according to the indication in Chinese. The combination of two consonants has been represented by the plus sign.

kāliñjara = *bhavya*

duddura = *abhavya*

caūsama from *catussama* = *gūtha*

silha from *silhaka* = *svayambhū*

karppūra = *śukra*

mālai indhana = *vyañjana*

preñkhana = *āgati*

kheta = *gati*

nirāmsua = *asthyābharāṇa*

malayaja = *milana* "union," this word, as we have seen is omitted in the Chinese translation. The meaning is the same as that of *kunduru* which means *dvīndriyasaṁyoga*.

dindima = *asparśa*.

I do not, however, pretend to say that by the substitution of these equivalents we can arrive at a clear meaning; the meaning will still remain obscure. That obscurity can be removed only when the text will be interpreted in the light of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Unfortunately our knowledge of the Vajrayāna is still very meagre.

ON THE SĀDHANAMĀLĀ

The present volume which forms the Tome XLI of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, contains the remaining *Sādhana*s, 142 in number (Nos. 171-312). Dr. Bhattacharyya is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his edition of the *Sādhana*mālā. Most of these *Sādhana*s are lying scattered in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan hgyur* and the worth of the edition would have been certainly enhanced if they had been compared for settling the text. But still our indebtedness to the editor is not minimised in the least, for he is doing the work of a pioneer in this field. The greatest importance of these texts is iconographical and ritualistic. Dr. Bhattacharyya in his *Indian Buddhist Iconography* has done justice to the iconographical aspect of the work, but the ritualistic aspect still remains to be studied.

In a learned introduction the editor has discussed some of the most important problems of Buddhist Tantras bearing on the present text. This introduction deals with : (1) Magic in ancient India in which he finds the origin of the Tantras ; (2) Tantras in which he gives a general description of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras ; (3) Origin and development of Vajrayāna ; (4) Chronology of the Vajrayāna ; (5) Leading tenets of Vajrayāna ; (6) Aims and objects of the Tantras ; (7) Authors of the *Sādhana*s ; (8) Vajrayāna deities ; (9) Iconography. Our remarks will be confined to the most important of these sections, *viz.*, 3, 4 and 7, which deal with the history of the Vajrayāna.

It is not true to say (p. vi) that Buddha gave instruction on *Mudrā*, *Maṇḍala* and *Tantra*. The oldest images of Buddha, of course, represent him with *Mudrā* but they go back only to the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. There is nothing to support the statement that Buddha incorporated Tantric practices (p. xvii) into his system of religion. There is no work on *dhāraṇīs* translated into Chinese "early at the beginning of the Christian era." The oldest translation of something like a *dhāraṇī*, which I know of, belongs to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (Nanjio, *Catalogue* 478 is lost. Another *dhāraṇī* is said to have been translated between 223 and 253 A.D. by an Indo-Scythian monk, Tehe Kien (Nanjio, No. 355 *Anantamukha-sādhakadhāraṇī* ?). But there is an interval of 100 years between these two translations and the translation of *dhāraṇīs*, which took place towards the end of the 4th century A.D. Both the translations are registered for the first time in the catalogues of the 6th century A.D.,

and therefore doubts can be easily raised about their authenticity; it can be, however, safely asserted that the genuine translations of *dhāraṇīs* go back to the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century A.D. It may be pointed out in this connection that the chapter on *dhāraṇī* in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* is not found in its first Chinese translation made by Guṇabhadra in 443 A.D. but occurs only in its later Chinese translations.

Some interpretations of the Vajrayāna doctrines given in § 3 cannot be naïvely accepted at the present state of our knowledge about Vajrayāna. On p. xxii Dr. Bhattacharyya says,—“Vajrayānists went beyond due limits in their spite against the strict rules of morality, and they violated all of them and plunged headlong into the worst immorality and sin.” This conclusion is based on a literal interpretation of some of the verses of the *Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi* of Anaṅgavajra, edited by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself. The verses in question are the following:

प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्तिकांक्षिभिः ।
परमार्थं स्थिता यदा संख्या तनुधारिणी ॥२२॥
ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्व्वेव व्यवस्थिता ।
अतोऽयं वचनायेन प्रोक्ता वाच्यार्थसम्भवा ॥२३॥
ब्राह्मणादिकुलोत्पन्ना मुद्रां वै अन्त्यजोद्भवा ।
दुःशीला पर[भार्या ?] च विकृता विकला तथा ॥२४॥
जनयित्वां ससारं च सप्तुर्वां भागिनेयिका ।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगिनं लघु सिध्येत साधकः ॥२५ [p.22].

Dr. Bhattacharyya translates it as “without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is not possible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman. Emancipation can only be obtained by coming in contact with any woman, whether of low origin and high, or whether mother, or sister, or other near relations.”

It is not unknown to Dr. Bhattacharyya that every mysticism is garbed in language which is also mystic, and even many verses of the *Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi* are unintelligible if interpreted literally. Every mystic school has got its traditions, of which only the teachers (*gurus*) are in possession of the secret. But a critical observer cannot remain satisfied with the explanation of a modern teacher of the sect (and it is also difficult to find one in Nepal who is ready to divulge the secret to an outsider). The next alternative is to fall back on the literature of the sect. But our knowledge of the Vajrayāna is too limited to give us free scope in elucidating its doctrines. However the *Hevajratantra*, a work of canonical importance to the Vajrayānists and older than 693 A.D. according to

Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (p. xliii), contains many a clue to the interpretation of the Vajrayāna doctrines. Let us try to see how the terms ललना, मुद्रा, etc., on which the interpretation of the verses depend, are explained in this Tantra. In the very opening chapter of the text called *Vajrakula-paṭala* we find a description of the 32 *nāḍīs* (arteries) of which three are the principal, viz., *lalanā*, *rasanā* and *avadhūtī*, corresponding to the *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumnā* of the Hindu Haṭhayogins. The nature of these three *nāḍīs* is further defined in the same chapter as :

ललना प्रज्ञास्वभावेन रसनोपायसंस्थिता ।

अवधूती मध्यदेशे तु याज्ञयाहकवर्जिता ॥

The nature of *lalanā* is, therefore, *Prajñā* and this *Prajñā* becomes an active force when *lalanā* is purified. I think it is in this light that we have to interpret the first two of the verses quoted where *Prajñāpāramitā* is said to be existing in the forms of *lalanā* (*lalanārūpam āsthāya...*). What is then *Brāhmaṇādīkulotpannā mudrā*? Dr. Bhattacharyya knows (p. lx) that there are five *kulas* (families) representing the five *dhyanī* Buddhas—Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. For further explanation we have to refer to the 5th chapter, *Tattvapāṭala*, of the *Hevajratāntra* where the five *mudrās*, *Ḍombī*, *Naṭī*, *Rajakī*, *Brāhmaṇī* and *Caṇḍālī* are said to be belonging to the five *kulas*.

मुद्रा पञ्च कुलानीति कथ्यते मोक्षहेतुना ।

वचं मुद्रातेऽनेनेति मुद्रा तेनाभिधीयते ॥

वचं पद्मं तथा कर्म तथागत रवमेव च ।

कुलानि पञ्चविधादुरुत्तमानि महाकृप ॥

वचं कोष्मि भवेत् मुद्रा पद्मं नटी तथैव च ।

कर्म रजकी समाख्याता ब्राह्मणी च तथागता ॥

रवचण्डाली चात ?) पञ्चमुद्रा विनिश्चिताः ।...

कुलानां पञ्चभूतानां पञ्चस्कन्धस्वरूपिणा ।

कुल्यते गम्यतेऽनेनेति कुलमित्यभिधीयते ॥¹

¹ The Chinese translation of these verses may be compared, because it is explanatory (Tokio ed., XXVII, 3, p. 68b). "The mudrās are of five classes and they will be now described for the cause of emancipation (*mokṣa*). They are called *mudrā* because they are the secret of the *vajra*. *Vajra*, *Padma*, *Karma*, *Tathāgata*, and *Ratna*, these are the five classes (of *mudrā*). *Vajra* is *nu-mi* (*Ḍombī*)-*mudrā*, *Padma* is the dancing girl (= *naṭī*) *mudrā*, *Karma* is the mistress of dyeing (= *rajakī*) *mudrā*, *Tathāgatā* is the pure woman (*Brāhmaṇī*) and *Ratna* is the *chen-na-li* (i.e., *Caṇḍālī*) *mudrā*. The five classes of *mudrā* are thus determined.....They are of five classes as they form the very nature of the five skandhas (?). They are called classes (*kula*, Ch. *pu*) because the bodies (*kāya*) are produced from them."

It follows from this that the five *mudrās* originating from the *kulas* beginning with *Brāhmaṇa* (*Brāhmaṇādikulodbhūtām*) are respectively: *Brāhmaṇī*=*Tathāgatā*, *Caṇḍālī*=*Ratna*, *Ḍombī*=*Vajra*, *Rajakī*=*Karma*, and *Naṭī*=*Padma*. What is *Mudrā*? *Mudrā* is explained in the same chapter of the *Hevajra* as करस्कोटो भवेन्मूद्रा चंगुल्या मोटनं तथा; these are, therefore, different gestures of the fingers by which the Yogin pretends to evoke the *Vajra*, i.e., *Prajñā* (*Vajraṁ mudryate anena.....*). *Mudrā* is therefore not a woman.

The same chapter of the *Hevajra* explains the different words जनयित्री, etc., thus :

जननी भक्ष्यते प्रज्ञा जनयति यस्याञ्जगज्जनं ।
भगिनोति तथा प्रज्ञा विभागं दर्शयेद् यतः ।.....
यस्य दुष्टा प्रज्ञा दुहिता च निगद्यते ॥¹

Therefore जनयित्री, स्वसा, etc., are different aspects of the *Prajñā* which the Yogin is trying to awaken during the process of his Yoga.

But I do not want to be dogmatic. I have entered into this discussion simply to point out the enormous difficulties which we have to face in interpreting the doctrines of the mystic schools. Their very oldest traditions do not allow us to attribute obscenities to their practices. I do not, however, pretend to say that these sects always preserved a pure standard of morality and that in later times their followers did not indulge in licence by wrong interpretation of their tenets.

On pp. xxxvii-xxxix while discussing the *Pīṭhas* of Tāntric culture Dr. Bhattacharyya had naturally to refer to *Uḍḍiyāna*. It is regrettable that he still persists in placing *Uḍḍiyāna* in Eastern India, sometimes in Orissa and sometimes in Assam, in spite of adverse criticisms (Finot in BEFEO and Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques*, 1928, p. 22n). We must note that there are two distinct series of names in Tibetan (i) *O-rgyan*, *U-rgyan*, *O-ḍi-ya-na* and (ii) *O-ḍi*, *O-ḍi-vi-śa* (see Tāranāth and *Pag sam joñ zang*). The first series of names is connected with *Indrabhūti* whereas the second series has nothing to do with him. The first presupposes the forms: *Oḍiyāna* and *Uḍḍiyāna* both of which are found as genuine

¹ The Chinese translation (*loc. cit.*) of the verse is as follows: "The great *Prajñā* is like mother because it gives birth to all the nature. It is like sister because it gives insight into the division (the diversity of the nature).....It is like daughter because it produces all the qualities (*guṇa*)."

For another explanation of these terms जनयित्री, etc., see *Dakṛṇava* (ed. H. P. Sāstrī), p. 138. The *nāḍīs* are the seats of each of the 27 *Yoginīs*; *mātā ca bhaginī putrī bhāginēyī ca svasṛkā* | *bāndhavī pītubhīmātā* (? *pīturbhīmātā*) *mātulasya tu bhāryakā*—are only the names of some of these *yoginīs*.

forms in the Sanskrit texts whereas the second falls back on *Oḍi* and *Oḍiviṣa*, i.e., *Oḍra* and *Andhraviṣaya* (=Orissa). The latter is generally transcribed by the Chinese writers as *Wu-tch'a*, i.e., *Uḍa* (the phonetic value of *tch'a*=*ḍa*) and the former sometimes as *Yue-ti-yen* (i.e., *U-ti-yana*). *Wu-tch'ang* is the older form and is based on **U-ḍiang* (the phonetic value of *tch'ang*=*ḍang*) which was wrongly translated as "garden" and hence restored as *Udyāna*. Hiuan tsang transcribes the name as *Wu-tch'ang-na*, i.e., *U-ḍiang-na*. I do not know if M. Lévi has identified this country with Kasgarh (and Dr. Bhattacharyya does not give any reference) but on the contrary M. Lévi has located it in the Swat Valley (*J. As.—Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, pp. 105-112) as all the available sources of information would indicate. M. Lévi has adduced good grounds for this identification and it will suffice to reproduce some of them here.

(1) All the Chinese sources (Fa hien, Hiuan tsang, etc.) locate *Uḍḍiyāna* in the Swat Valley. M. Foucher (*Iconographie Bouddhique*, pp. 121 and 148) has drawn our attention to the miniature of a Nepalese MS. of the 8th-9th century A.D. which bears the inscription "Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in *Oḍḍiyāna*." *Maṅgakoṣṭha* is only a different name of *Maṅgalapura* (*Mong-kie-li* of Hiuan tsang), the chief city of the Swat Valley. (3) In the more ancient Tantras, for example the *Hevajratantra* (7th *pāṭala*), the order of the *pīṭhas* is as follows :

पीठं जालम्बरं ख्यातं श्रीविद्यानं तथैव च ।

पीठं पूर्णगिरिं चैव कामरूपमथैव च ॥

So if *Oḍḍiyāna* be at all near any place it was certainly not near *Kāmarūpa* but near *Jālandhara*. (4) In the *Romakasiddhānta* *Uḍḍiyāna* is enumerated along with *Sindhu-Surāṣṭra*. (5) In the T'ang annals (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 160) the boundaries of *Uḍḍiyāna* (*Yue-ti-yen*) are given as follows : India is on the South ; Chitral is on the North-West and it is situated to the North of the Indus. (6) As regards the antiquity of the form *Oḍḍiyāna* one may refer to an inscription of the year 77 of the Kushan era (Lüders, *List*, No. 62) which records the gift of a monk *Jivaka*, a native of *Oḍḍiyāna*. No authentic source of information of this period mentions *Oḍa* (i.e., *Oḍra*). There can be, therefore, no doubt that *Uḍḍiyāna* is the same as the Swat Valley and that *Oḍḍiyāna*, *Uḍḍiyāna*, *Uḍḍiyāna O-rgyan*, *O-ḍi-ya-na*, *U-rgyan*, *U-ḍi-ya-na* and *Wu-tch'ang* and *Yue-ti-yen* are all different forms of the same name and are quite distinct from *Orissa*.

Dr. Bhattacharyya may still demand satisfaction on three more points : (i) where was then *Zahor*, to the royal family of which *Śāntarakṣita*

belonged? As Indrabhūti, the king of Uḍḍiyāna married the sister of the former at Zahor, Zahor must be in the proximity of Uḍḍiyāna. (ii) Where is Laṅkāpurī of which Jalendra was the king? As Jalendra's son married the sister of Indrabhūti, Laṅkāpurī must be in the same zone as Uḍḍiyāna. (iii) According to the Tibetan sources Lui-pa was an employee of the king of Uḍḍiyāna. But how is this that songs attributed to him are written in Bengali?

Zahor is mentioned in the Tibetan sources in connection with the countries which Indrabhūti visited after leaving Uḍḍiyāna. He visited the cemeteries of *Biddha*¹ country, a particular cemetery in Kāśmīr and another in Nepal and last of all the cemetery called *Laṅkā* in Zahor (Waddel, *Lamaism*, p. 382). Nobody has the right to separate any of these names from the context in which the mention of Kāśmīr points out, beyond all doubt, that Zahor visited by Indrabhūti is the borderland between Kāśmīr and Nepal which is not very far from Uḍḍiyāna. The identification of Zahor with Mandi as proposed by Francke (*Indian Tibet*, Vol. II, pp. 65, 89-90) is therefore quite correct. If one refers to pp. 419 ff. of the *Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, he will be certainly surprised to see the persistence of the old beliefs in the country of Śāntarakṣita. Laṅkāpurī is a cemetery in Zahor. But we have a different description of Laṅkāpurī in the history of the 84 Siddhas, where it is said that the country has two divisions, one is *Sambhala* of which Indrabhūti was the king and the other *Laṅkāpurī* of which Jalendra was the king (Taranath, p. 325). The Tibetan accounts very often are confused and it is not uncommon that in them simple cemeteries have been converted into monasteries (see I.H.Q., Vol. V, p. 763 n.). Leaving aside the cemetery of Laṅkāpurī in Zahor it may be admitted that a certain locality in Uḍḍiyāna was also called Laṅkāpurī. But the identification of Zahor with "a place in Assam" as proposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya does not satisfy even his own position as he has been obliged this time to locate Uḍḍiyāna in Assam! There are, however, indications which justify us in thinking that some locality in North-western India was known as Laṅkā. Jayabhadra, a translator of *Cakraśambharatantra* into Tibetan, is said to have been a man of *Laṅkā*, also written *Laṅga* (Cordier, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 42-43). Ceylon was certainly not known as *Laṅkā* in this period and *Cakraśambharatantra* had probably nothing to do with Ceylon. On the contrary there

¹ I am not sure about the identification of this place with Videha (?) proposed by Waddel. It may be very well *pi-t'u* (—Bhida) which Fa-hien visited just after crossing the Indus.—Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 178.

is ample evidence to show that the culture of *Sambaratantra* was intimately connected with *Sambhala* country which is said to have been a part of *Uḍḍiyāna*. *Laṅkā* of Jayabhadra, therefore, seems to have been the same as the *Laṅkāpurī* of Jalendra. Hiuan tsang (Watters, II, p. 257) speaks of a country of *Lang-kie-lo* in the lower valley of the Indus, where there were 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks of both *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna* in his time. This name has been connected with that of the *Langga* tribe that still lives in the north of Baluchistan. This *Laṅga* tribe is distributed in different districts of the North-west and classed as a *Jāt* tribe in the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan "where it was probably aboriginal or immigrant from eastward" (*Punjab Tribes and Castes*, II, p. 30). Considering the immigrant nature of this people, it is not probably too much to think that they once occupied districts contiguous to the Swat Valley further to the north-west, and that their country was known as *Laṅkā*. The other form of the name of the native place of Jayabhadra, *Laṅga*, is to be taken notice of in this connection.

Now the last objection about the identification of *Uḍḍiyāna*, remains to be answered. How could *Lui-pa* belong to *Uḍḍiyāna* and be a Bengali at the same time? This question is rather complicated because it is connected with many others. The name of *Lui-pa* is in Tibetan *Ña-lto-pa*, i.e., *Matsyāntrāda*. Though Cordier (*Catalogue*, II, p. 33) hesitates to take him to be the same as *Matsyendranātha*, he cannot adduce any plausible reason for doing so (see also, S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, p. 353, n. 4). I refrain from discussing this problem for the present as Prof. Tucci has dealt with it in a paper to be shortly published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.¹ It suffices for me to say that the mystic cult connected with the name of *Matsyendranātha* went far beyond the limits of Bengal and was in vogue in many distant parts of India. There is therefore no wonder if his name is associated with both *Uḍḍiyāna* and Bengal. Moreover while studying the history of these sects we cannot overlook the importance of the great community which the Yogins from remote parts of India formed in ancient times and do still form. Nor can we overlook the fact that these extraordinary people coming from different parts of India still meet in the inaccessible shrines of the *Himālaya* to communicate their secret doctrines to each other and thus maintain the solidarity of the religion of which they are the representatives.

Dr. Bhattacharyya is to be specially congratulated for sections § 4 and 7, *Chronology of Vajrayāna* and the authors of the *Sādhana*s. He

has tried to collect available materials on the history of the teachers of Vajrayāna and find out an acceptable chronology. This chronology may have to be modified in the light of future researches but still a beginning had to be made somewhere. There is room for supplementation, but I refrain from it as that will exceed the scope of a review. I will however content myself in pointing out that Asaṅga, the author of *Sādhana* No. 159 cannot be identified with the great teacher of Yogācāra unless it is proved that the complicated ritualism described in this *Sādhana* already originated in the 4th century A.D.

One of the *Sādhana*s (No. 127), of which the importance has been recognised by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself (pp. cxxxv-exliii), is of great historical value. It is the *Ekajaṭāsādhana*, which is said to have been recovered by Ārya Nāgārjuna, (i.e., Siddha Nāgārjuna, circa 7th century A.D.) from the country of Bhoṭa, i.e., Tibet (*ārya-Nāgārjuna-pādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*). In fact there are six *sādhana*s (Nos. 123-127) devoted to the goddess Ekajaṭā. The description of Ekajaṭā, as given in these *sādhana*s, closely agree with that of *Mahācīnakramatārā* in *Sādhana*s 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *bīja mantras*, in the case of *Mahācīnakramatārā* it is composed of three letters (*tryakṣarī vidyā*: *oṃ hrīm huṃ*, cf. *Sādhana* No. 101) whereas in case of Ekajaṭā it is sometimes composed of 4 letters (*oṃ hrīm trīm huṃ*, cf. *Sādhana*s 123, 125, 126, 127 and as *hrīm trīm huṃ phat* in *Sādhana* 124) and sometimes of 5 (*oṃ hrīm trīm huṃ phat*, cf. *Sādhana* 124).

Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu pantheon not only Tārā, as supposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya, but also Ugratārā (of whom the worship was introduced by Vasiṣṭha and hence the same as (*Mahācīnatārā*), *Ekajaṭā* and *Mahānīlasarasvatī*. The *dhyāna* of Tārā quoted by Dr. Bhattacharyya on p. cxxxix is the same as that of Nīlasarasvatī, as stated in the *Phelkārī Tantra* (see *Tantrasāra*, pp. 514f.). Further it should be noticed that in *Sādhana* 101 it is said that Cīnatārā is to be worshiped in :

एकलिङ्गे श्मशाने वा गृह्यागारे च सर्वदा ।

तत्रैव साधयेद् योगी विद्यां विभवमोक्षणीम् ॥

In *Sādhana* 123 it is said that the Yogi should meditate on Ekajaṭā in solitude, cremation ground, and street corners (*विजने घनश्मशानचलरादौ*). The same is true about Nīlasarasvatī. In *Tantrasāra* (p. 506 quoting from

the *Phetkārī Tantra*) practically the same verse as found in *Sādhana*, p. 101, is quoted with the interpolation of two lines :

एककलिङ्गे यमशाने वा यन्मागारि चतुष्पथे ।
[शवस्योपरि सुखे वा जले वा कण्ठपूरिते ॥
संयामभूमौ योनौ वा स्थाने वा विजने वने ।]
तत्रस्थः साधयेद् योगी विद्यां विभुवनेश्वरीम् ॥

The *Tantrasāra* quotes from a number of authorities to explain the difference between the goddesses described before. *Nilasarasvatī* is सर्वभाषामयी यज्ञा सर्ववाद्यैर्नमस्कृता (*Nilatantra*). She is a *Pañcākṣarī-vidyā*; she is *Ekajaṭā* while she is separated from *Tārā* (i.e., the *praṇava*); she is *Nilasarasvatī* while in unison with *Tārā*; and she is *Ugratārā* while she is a *vidyā* of three letters. The presiding goddess of other *vidyās* is *Ekajaṭā* because *Ekajaṭā* is her very nature.¹

It is therefore evident that the Hindu Tantras considered *Ekajaṭā*, *Nilasarasvatī* and *Ugratārā* as different aspects of the same goddess. Buddhist Tantras do not speak of *Nilasarasvatī* but mention *Mahācīnakramatārā* instead. Both *Ekajaṭā* and *Mahācīnakramatārā* are of foreign importation. The Hindu Tantras all have preserved this tradition. The hints of this is already given in the verse quoted above from the *Nilatantra* where *Nilasarasvatī* is called *Sarvabhāṣāmayī*, knower of all languages and *Sarvāmnāyair namaskṛtā*, worshipped in all the traditions. The story recorded in the *Tārātantra* (to which attention was first drawn by H. P. Śāstri—*Notice of Skt. MSS.*, and fasc. Vol. I, 3, p. xxxii and 152) describes how *Vasiṣṭha* went to *Mahācīna* to get instructions from *Buddha*. He brought from there the cult known as *Mahācīnakramācāra* which prescribes the worship of *Mahācīnatārā*. If there is any truth behind this story, it certainly reveals that the cult of *Mahācīnatārā* was incorporated into Hinduism from the Buddhist Tantras. In Nepal *Nilatārā* and *Ugratārā* are worshipped both by the Buddhists and the Hindus. Both the traditions, Hindu and Buddhist, thus agree in pointing out to the foreign origin of the goddess, known as *Mahācīnatārā* and *Ekajaṭā* in Buddhist Tantras, and as *Mahācīnatārā*, *Ekajaṭā*, *Ugratārā* and *Nilasarasvatī*, etc., in Hinduism. *Siddha Nāgārjuna* and *Vasiṣṭha* play the same rôle in importing the cult

¹ Cf. *Tantrasāra*, p. 507; एषा पञ्चाक्षरी । तदेवाह—पञ्चाक्षरी एकजटा ताराभावे मण्डेश्वरी । ताराया तु भवेद्देवि श्रीमन्नीलसरस्वती ॥ उग्रतारा त्राक्षरी च महानीलसरस्वती । सन्धाया विद्यानाम् एकजटैव देवताप्रकृतित्वात् ।

either from *Bhoṭa* or *Mahācīna* (countries which may be considered identical). The name of Siddha Nāgārjuna seems to have been repugnant to the Hindus as being a typically Buddhist one and this is why it was probably replaced by that of Vasiṣṭha.

The description of Tārā or Nīlasarasvatī as *akṣobhya devīmūrdhanya* "having *Akṣobhya* on her head," as supposed by Dr. Bhattacharyya, confirms the Buddhist origin of the deity. The identity of *Akṣobhya* and *Maheśa* as suggested in the *Toḍala Tantra* (cxxxviii) is probably a late one. I will quote another text from the Hindu sources which gives a similar description of *Akṣobhya*, and points out the foreign origin of *Nīlasarasvatī*. In the 5th chapter of the *Sammōha Tantra* (called *Akṣobhyatārāsamvāda*), preserved in the Darbar Library, Nepal (see H. P. Śāstri, *Catalogue of the Darbar Library*, II, p. 183) we find the origin of *Nīlasarasvatī* described in a corrupt Sanskrit as follows :

(fol. 21a) ब्रह्मणो वचनं श्रुत्वा प्रजहासत महेश्वरः ।
 मृगुश्ववह्नितो विप्र महानीलसरस्वती ॥२॥
 यस्याः प्रसादमालभ्य चतुर्वेदान् वदिष्यति ।
 मेरोः पश्चिमकूले तु चोलनामा महाऋदः ॥३॥
 तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं देवी माता नीलीयतारा ।
 एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु मेरो यज्ञपरायणः ॥५॥
 जपं जप्यं समासाद्य त्रियुगं च ततः स्थितः ।
 समोर्ध्ववक्त्राग्निःस्रव्यं तैजोराशिं विनिर्गतः ॥६॥
 ऋद्रे चोले निपत्यैव नीलवर्णाभवत् पुरा ।
 ऋदस्य चोत्तरभागे ऋषिरिको महोत्तरः ॥७॥

(fol. 21b) अचोभ्य नाम चाश्रित्य मुनिवेशधरः शिवः ।
 येनादौ जप्यते यातु सत्त्वस्य ऋषिरीरिता (?) ॥८॥
 विश्वव्यापकतोये तु चीनदेशे स्वयं शिवे ।
 आकारीपरिटाकारस्तस्योपरि च हुं कृतिः ॥९॥
 कूर्चवोजस्वरूपा सा प्रत्यालीढपदाभवत् ।
 महोयतारा सञ्जाता चिन्मूला श्रीमहाकला ॥१०॥

The Maheśvara said to Brahmā, "Hear from me about Mahānīlasarasvatī with attention. It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas. There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru. The mother goddess Nīlogratārā, herself was born there..... the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a

blue colour. There was a sage called Akṣobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *muni*, on the northern side of the Meru. It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cinadeśa at the time of the great deluge....."

According to this legend Nīlasarasvatī, also called Mahogratārā, was born in a lake called *Cola*, on the western side of the Meru, which was included in the Cinadeśa. Her *vidyā* is composed of three letters, a *ta* (probably a mistake for *la*) and *hum*, i.e., *oṃ trīm hum*. It is idle to try to find out a precise geographical information here, but it may be suggested that *cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with names of so many lakes to the west and north of *T'ien shan*, i.e., in the pure Mongolian zone.

ON FOREIGN ELEMENT IN THE TANTRA

I

The Tantra still remains an enigma to us. Very little work has been done in this domain and very little attempt has been made in the interpretation of its doctrines. But the fact remains that a vast literature has been written on it—a literature which is mostly found in manuscripts. The Tantras can be broadly divided into two classes—orthodox and heterodox. The orthodox Tantras are mainly represented by the Āgamas, the Yāmālas and their supplements. The heterodox Tantras are both Buddhist and Brāhmanical and are represented by the texts of a number of Tantrik schools like Kulācāra, Vāmācāra, Sahajayāna, Vajrayāna, etc. In the present article I will deal with a number of indications contained in the Tantrik literature which definitely points out that mystic practices of foreign origin crept into the heterodox class of Indian Tantras at a very early date.

H. P. Sastri in his *Catalogue of the Palm-Leaf MSS. of the Darbar Library, Nepal* (1906, p. lxxix) quotes a very significant stanza from the *Kubjikā-tantra* which points out that the Kubjikā School of Tantras is probably of foreign origin :

“Go to India to establish yourself in the whole country and make manifold creations in the sacred places of primary and secondary importance.”

In another place in the same Tantra the Tantras of this school are said to have originated among the potters, a lower caste Hindus, and this is why they are said to have belonged to the *kulālikāmnāya*. It is prescribed there that the Goddess Kubjikā should be worshipped in the house of a potter.

A certain number of Tantrik practices styled Cīnācāra has been much discussed by scholars. The *Tārā-Tantra* adopted by both Hinduism and Buddhism says that the cult of Cīna-Tārā came from the country of Mahācīna. Vasiṣṭha, one of the greatest Brāhmana sages is said to have gone to the country of Mahācīna to meet Buddha, who was to be found at that time neither in India nor in Tibet. Vasiṣṭha was initiated there by Buddha to the secret doctrines of Cīnācāra and subsequently came back to India to propagate them. In this Cīnācāra Prof. Sylvain Lévi finds distant echo of the secret societies which existed in China (*Le Népal*, I, pp. 346f.). On my part while discussing one of the Sādhana published

by Dr. Binayatosh Bhattacharya (No. 127 of the *Sādhnamālā*) I have tried to establish the identity of Mahācīna-Tārā with Ekajaṭā, whose cult is said to have been recovered by Siddha Nāgārjuna in Tibet (*ante*, pp. 42ff.). The Sādhana of the Goddess Ekajaṭā was discovered by him in the country of Bhoṭa (*Ārya-Nāgārjunapādaiḥ Bhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam*). The description of Ekajaṭā is found in six different Sādhanas (123-128). It closely agrees with that of Mahācīnakrama-Tārā as found in Sādhanas 100 and 101. A comparison of these two goddesses show that they are essentially identical, the only difference being in the *Bīja-mantra*; in the case of Cīnakrama-Tārā, it is composed of three letters, and in the case of Ekajaṭā, it is sometimes composed of 4 and sometimes of 5 letters. Corresponding to these goddesses we find in the Hindu Pantheon Tārā, Ugratārā, Ekajaṭā, and Mahā-Nīlasarasvatī. The dhyānas of these goddesses as found in the Hindu Tantras literally correspond with those found in the Buddhist Sādhanas. In the article already referred to I have also quoted from the *Sammoha Tantra* found by me in Nepal the following significant passage about the origin of this goddess:—

“The Maheśvara said unto Brahmā, hear from me about Mahā Nīlasarasvatī with attention. It is through her favour that you will narrate the four Vedas. There is a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru. The mother, goddess Nīlogratārā was born there... the light issuing from my upper eye fell into the lake *Cola* and took a blue colour. There was a sage called Akṣobhya, who was Śiva himself in the form of a *muni*, on the northern side of the Meru. It was he who meditated first on the goddess (?), who was Pārvatī herself reincarnating in Cīnadeśa at the time of the great deluge.”

According to this text Nīlasarasvatī or Ugratārā was born in a lake called *Cola* on the western side of the Meru which was included in the Cīnā-deśa. I suggested that *Cola* is probably to be connected with the common word for lake, *kul*, *kol*, which is found with the names of so many lakes to the west and north of the *T'ien shan* that is to say in the pure Mongolian zone.

There are ample evidence to prove that the zone of heterodox Tantras went far beyond the natural limits of India. Some of the Tantras divide the Tantrik world into three *krāntās* or regions, Viṣṇukrāntā, Aśvakrāntā and Rathakrāntā. Viṣṇukrāntā comprises the region from the Vindhya to Chāṭṭala (Chittagong), Aśvakrāntā, the region from the Vindhya to Mahācīna including Nepal, and Rathakrāntā from the Vindhya to the

great ocean including Kamboj and Java (see Avalon, *Principles of the Tantras*, Vol. II, Introd.).

In the *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 7 a-b) we find a similar enumeration of Tantrik zones. The zones are here fixed according to two different Tantrik modes, known as *Kādi* and *Hādi*. The countries in which the *Kādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

~ Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kerala, Kāśmīra, Kāmarūpa, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Drāviḍa, Tailiṅga, Malayādri, Karṇāṭa, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula, Cola, Kamboja, Videha, *Bāhlika*, *Kirāta*, Kaikaṭa, *Airāka*, *Bhoṭa*, *Cīna*, *Mahācīna*, Nepāla, Silahaṭṭa, Gauḍa, Kośala, Magadha, Snotkala (? Utkala), Kuntala, *Hūṇa*, Koṅkaṇa, Kekaya, Sūrasena, Kaurava, Siṃhala, *Pulinda*, Kaccha, Madra, Sauvīra, Lāṭa, Barbara, Matsya and Sindhu.

The countries in which the *Hādi* mode is in vogue are the following :—

~ Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Suvīraka, Kāśmīra, Kāmbhoja, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mahārāṣṭra, Mālava, Nepāla, Kerala, Cola, Cala, Gauḍa, Malaya, Siṃhala, Voṅka (?), Vido (?), Vyonda (?), Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Malāṭa, Panaṭa, Andhaka, Pulindaka, *Hūṇa*, Kaura(?), *Gandhāra*, Vidarbha, Videha, *Bāhlika*, Barbara, Kekaya, Kośala, Kuntala, *Kirāta*, Sūrasena, Sevara (? Sauvīra) Banāṭa, Taṅkaṇa, Kaṅkaṇa, Matsya, Madra, *Maida*, Saindhava *Pārśvakika*, Dyorjāla, Yavana, Jala, Jalandhara, Salva (? Sālva), Sindhu.

Two points are noteworthy about the zones described above. A number of countries beyond India are enumerated and described as the centres of Tantrik culture. These are—*Bāhlika* (Balkh), *Kirāta* (the hill tribes of the Himalayan zone), *Bhoṭa* (Tibet), *Cīna* (China), *Mahācīna* (Mongolia?), *Maida* (Media?), *Parśvakika* (? *Pārasika*—Persia), *Airāka* (Irak?), Kamboja, *Hūṇa*, Yavana, *Gandhāra* and Nepāla. It is not to be literally believed that Tantrik culture ever spread to all those distant countries. The truth is perhaps that some heterodox schools of Tantras associated themselves with those countries either through tradition or through the community of some mystic beliefs, of which the history is lost to us. We should further note in this connection that even within the limits of India some non-Aryan groups of people like *Pulinda*, *Kirāta*, Barbara, Taṅkaṇa, Ābhīra, Kuntala, etc., are connected with that particular culture. { ✓

Another important point to be noted is that within the limits of India the countries of the outer zone only are enumerated. The Mid-Land (*Madhyadeśa*), the country of the orthodox Brahmanical culture, is

practically excluded except the doubtful reference to Kaura (? Kaurava) and Kośala which may very well be Southern Kośala. In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VI, pp. 98ff, cf. ante, pp. 16ff.) I have tried to establish that the Mid-Land was the country of the orthodox Tantrik culture of which the 18 Āgamas and their supplements formed the sacred literature. But the countries around it like Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkana, Kāñci, Kośala, etc., were not fit places for its cultivation. The Brahmins of those countries were unfit to be priests according to the orthodox Tantras. So it is evident that in these countries on the outer zone grew later on a sort of Tantrik culture which was of a different inspiration.

The unknown compiler of the *Sammoha Tantra* does not remain content by simply enumerating the different countries. He pretends to possess some knowledge of the Tantras current in some of these countries. Thus on fol. 27^a while referring to the Tantras of different schools, he says that the country of Cina possesses 100 primary and 7 subsidiary Tantras (*śataṃ tantrāṇi cīne tu upatantrāṇi sapta ca*), Drāviḍa has 20 primary and 25 subsidiary Tantras, Kerala has 60 subsidiary Tantras and so on.

The sacred centres (pīṭhasthāna) of primary importance, as found in the heterodox Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras are four in number, Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri, Oḍḍiyāna and Jālandhara. Pūrṇagiri has not yet been definitely identified. But there is no doubt that Uḍḍiyāna corresponds to the Swat valley, of which the people used to make "the acquisition of magical formulæ their occupation" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 225) already in the time of Hiuan Tsang in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Jālandhara and Kāmarūpa have not changed their names since ancient times. (All these three places are situated on the high roads leading to countries outside India—Uḍḍiyāna situated in the valley of the Swat river, easily accessible from the Upper valley of the Indus, has been the meeting place of the people of different origin. It is situated on the high road that connects the Upper valley of the Indus with Balkh, Samarcand, etc., on the one hand and the Pamirs, Khotan, Kashgar, etc., on the other by the valley of the Gilgit. Jālandhara is situated on another highway that connects Tibet with India through the Shipki pass, and Kāmarūpa has to a great extent been the centre of activities of foreign peoples who have been coming down from the Northern and the North-eastern hills since very ancient times.) It is probably not without significance that Bhāskaravarman who was the king of Kāmarūpa told a Chinese envoy to India that his forefathers had come to India from

the country of Mahācīna and requested him to send a Sanskrit translation of *Tao-te-king*, the sacred text of Taoism and a portrait of Lao-tzu, its founder. In ancient time a land route connected Assam with Western and Southern China through the Patkoi hills and Upper Burma, and this route was generally followed by the invaders and immigrants from the North-East.

II

I will now proceed to deal with particular Tantrik texts that contain direct references to practices of decidedly foreign origin. The *Jayadratha Yāmala*, which I have elsewhere proved to be a compilation of the 8th century A.D., while discussing the special doctrines of different Tantrik schools mentions, amongst others, the practices of the Lāmās (*Lāmāvarga*), Śākinīs and Yoginīs (*Jayadratha Yāmala*, Ṣaṭka III, folia 187a-193b). The texts in which these practices are described are sometimes very obscure. Following is roughly the substance :—

“The special doctrine of the Lāmās is conducive to spiritual success (*siddhi*). According to it one should not cultivate the company of other gods except Śiva (?). The words of the Guru as embodied in the Tantras may or may not be followed. One should have all worldly desires and need not follow the strict discipline. He should have no satisfaction in (current) religious doctrines and practices. He should think that it is his own self that is alone present everywhere and practise self-control in the company of women. He should perform religious acts on particular auspicious days according to the prescribed discipline. He should not be angry even at the gravest provocation. Such is the practice of the group of Lāmās.

According to the special doctrine of the Śākinīs the adept should never divulge the mantras to others. He should practise *samādhi* in company of all women, should always meditate on the *nāda*, take his meals at night and worship Śiva. He should not violate the discipline of his sect during the *Dakṣiṇāyana*, should practise self-control by all means, should maintain his own *Kula* and should avoid the intermixture of *Kulas*. He should have himself undisturbed in respect of body, speech and mind either in his own *Kula* or in that of others. He should have his meals in company of the Yoginīs. Those who follow the doctrines of the Śākinīs do not uselessly kill animals for the sake of sacrifice.”

Now who are the Lāmās and Śākinīs, of whom the special practices are just described? The ḍākinīs, rākinīs, lākinīs, kūkinīs, śākinīs and hākinīs

are mentioned as the female energies (*Saktis*) of the Tantrik deities respectively called *ḍāmesvaranātha*, *rāmesvaranātha*, *lāmeśvaranātha*, *kākeśvaranātha*, *śāmvaranātha*, and *hāmeśvaranātha* who together with their *śaktis*, form mystic groups designated under the mnemonic *ḍa ra la ka śa ha*. The Lord of *Lāmā* is here called *Lāmeśvara*. *Lāmā* is not the commonly known Tibetan word *Bla-ma* meaning 'scholar,' but something different. The *Lāmās* are mentioned in the *Jayadratha Yāmala* on two other occasions in the same context (192a) :—

*Durlabhā Kāśyapīvarge pañcāmṛtavivardhitā ।
Rūpikā Cumbikā Lāmā parāvṛttātha pālikā ॥
anivartā ca...dvedhī janmāntara-samudbhavā ।
etāstu saṅgamenaiṣa parām siddhiṁ dadanti ca ।
vikhyāti raktamādaḥ tu bhrūbhaṅgaḥ kurute tataḥ ॥
saṁhṛtyārthādaya paścācca punarmarśayet ॥
.....ālāpenāpi cumbati
cumbikā sāvīṣṇeyā yoginī baladarpitā...
niśvāsai rbhairavaistā stu Lāmānām tad vini rdiṣet ॥*

The *Lāmās*, otherwise known as *Rūpikā* and *Cumbikā*, flourish among the rare group of the *Kāśyapis*. Association with them is conducive to spiritual success. They are called *Rūpikā* because they assume different shapes during their intercourse with others. They are called *Cumbikā* because they kiss at the very first introduction.

In the *Hevajra Tantra* (Paṭala III, fol. 6a) the *Lāmās* are referred to in the company of the *ḍākinīs* and called *Khaṇḍorahā* and *Rūpiṇī*.

Ḍākinī tu tathā Lāmā Khaṇḍarohā tu Rūpiṇī

The *Lāmās*, therefore, constituted a mystic group of female Tantrik adepts who had their special practices. The *Sammoha Tantra* (fol. 39b) in another place distinctly refers to a Tantrik practice (*vidyā*) called *Lamayāmnāya*, i.e., the *āmnāya* of the *Lamas* or *Lāmās*.

The *Lāmās* are also known from other sources. Waddell, in his *Lamaism* (p. 364), describes in detail a goddess called in Tibetan *Lha-mo*. She is also called *pal ldan Lha mo* (Skt. *Devī* or *Śrī Devī*). She is the "goddess or the queen of the warring weapons." She "like her great prototype the goddess *Durgā* of *Brāhmaṇism* is perhaps the most malignant and powerful of all the demons, and the most dreaded. She is credited with letting loose the demons of disease and her name is scarcely ever mentioned and only then with bated breath and under the title of the great

queen. In her pictures she is pictured as surrounded by flames and riding on a white-faced mule, upon a saddle of her own son's skin flayed by herself. She is clad in human skins and is eating human brains and blood from a skull and she wields in her right hand a trident rod. She is publicly worshipped for seven days by the Lāmās of all sects, especially at the end of the 12th month in connection with the prevention of disease for the incoming years. And in the cake offered are added among other ingredients the fat of a black goat, blood, wine, dough, and butter and these are placed in a bowl made from a human skull." In Western Tibet Lha-mos and dākinīs are represented as beautiful young women but more often with fearful faces, etc., to signify their power "to destroy demons whom it is their mission to combat." First in rank stands Lha-mo (Mahākālī), "mother of the gods." She is represented in 15 different forms, but specially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end and a skull for cap.

In the district of Kanaur, Buddhists believe in (i) Paldan Lamo, the supreme goddess equivalent to Mahākālī, (ii) Sai Lamo or the goddess Devī Bhagavatī, (iii) Sai Lamo or Baṭuka Bhairava (*The Punjab Castes and Tribes*, I, pp. 82, 83, 91, etc.).

We thus see that in Tibet in modern times the Lāmās who are certainly the same as the Lamos are conceived as goddesses of the type of Kālī and worshipped according to rites that can be called Tantrik. It seems that in more ancient times these Lāmās, like many other goddesses of the Tantrik pantheon, were female Tantrik adepts who later on came to be deified. It is the practice of these adepts of Tibetan mysticism that is referred to in the Tantrik texts mentioned before. That these Lamos were in the habit of kissing people at their first meeting with them seems to be a direct reference to the Tibetan mode of greeting by showing the tongue.

In this connection I may be permitted to make a few suggestions about the other groups of female adepts of Tantrik mysticism, *e.g.*, the lākinīs, the dākinīs, the śākinīs. In Western Tibet, the land of sorcerers and witches, there is a class of sorcerers called Lha-ka (probably Lha-k'a) or god's mouthpiece (also called Ku T'em ba). They "are frequently found in Western Tibet and may be females in which case the woman may marry without hindrance to her profession. These wizards are especially resorted to for relief of pain" (*ibid.*, pp. 482 ff.). Lākinīs seem to have been the name adopted in the Tantrik literature for these wizards. Similar types of witches distantly connected with the Dags (the people of Dāgistan) and Śakas were probably referred to in the Tantras as dākinīs and śākinīs,

respectively. Evidence is not wanting to prove that women still have a great rôle in the spiritual life of different people of this zone as well as that of Central Asia and Mongolia.¹

III

I have elsewhere tried to prove that the Tantrik doctrines were usually garbed in a mystic language. In the Buddhist Tantras it is called Sandhābhāṣā or Sandhāvacana. It is sometimes very difficult to penetrate into that language and arrive at the real interpretation of the doctrines.

The Jayadratha Yāmala while describing the special practices of the Lāmās mentions the special language to be used with them. This language is described as monosyllabic (*Ekākṣara-samullāpa*) and may thus be considered to have belonged to the Sino-Tibetan family as the Lāmās themselves belonged to the Tibetan group of mystics. The Lāmās, according to this language, had 24 different names:—Yoginī, Rūpinī, Lāmā, Śākinī, Nālinī, Khaṛī, Cult, Bilā, Trikhagagā, P-šinī, Dehinī, Jalā, evatī, Bedhanī, Lukī, Paḍabhī, Raktinī, Hisā (?), Karoṭhī, Kaluśī, Bhadrā, Dundubhi, Mukharā and Āturā. We have already seen that the Lāmās were Rūpikā as they were capable of assuming different shapes. Some of the 24 names enumerated are descriptive of such shapes which they could assume.

A number of words belonging to the language of the Lāmās is mentioned in the Jayadratha Yāmala. A comparison of these words with Tibetan and with other allied languages of the Himalayan zone probably shows that they were culled from some dialect of that family. There are only two difficulties in establishing the identity of these words. As I have to depend on a single manuscript of the text preserved in the Darbar Library of Nepal, and as that manuscript also is in part corrupt on account of the negligence of the copyists, I have not always been able to determine the real forms of the words. The words as transcribed in the text always possess a vowel ending though we are told at the outset that the language is a monosyllabic one. We have to remember that the compiler of the text could not always faithfully transcribe the words as they belonged to a foreign tongue. Besides we are not yet in a position to determine the real forms of the words in question as they were in the 8th century A.D., when

¹ The late Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Sāstrī informed that the worship of Lāmādevī is prevalent in some parts of Midnapur. But I have not been able to collect any other information on it. A goddess called *Rāhikī* is worshipped at Ghātālā in the district of Manbhum. This goddess may have some connection with our *Rāhikī*.

the text was compiled. Our knowledge of the Tibetan dialects of that period is still very limited. A few such words are given below :

abhivādana—*bimśa*? Tibetan—*gdon-bus*—greeting.

svāgaṭam—*nārist*, *bibi*; in the *Sammoha Tantra* (23) *Nārista* is said to be the word for *pranava* according to the traditions of some Tantrik schools (*ūrdhvāmnāye*, ..*nārista pranava parikīrtita*). *bibi*=**bib* cf. Tibetan *phibs-bu* meaning 'welcome.'

mātā—*lāsabhā*—**lā-sabh* cf. *Ma'i tshabs* meaning 'mother' in Tibetan Lha as in Lha-mo means *devī*. The word, therefore, may be connected with Lha tshabs.

bhagini—*bhāginī*?

duhitā—*duhinī*?

śaśkrū—*bhiḥ*, *samani*;

cf. Tib. *pha*, *a-pha* meaning 'father.'

bhrātrjyā—*nīmi śmī*?

patnī—*gusu naye*, there may be three different words here, *gu su*, *naye*; for the last two cf. Tib. *chuā ma* and Chinese *nū*.

mātula—*māṭṛṣva*?

pitā—*pīḍimistho*?

naptā—*triminī*?

pitāmaha—*bālusi*? for 'grandfather' cf. Tib. *po-bo*, *po-'o-lags*; Sikimese—*jo-jo-o*.

mātāmaha—*pilapiti nunoni*?

for 'grandmother'—Tib. *mo'o laṭ*, *a phyi laṭ*, Sikimese—*a űogs*, *a naṭ*.

śura bhakta—*airīsam*?

pakṣīrāma—*āpīśī*?

dadhi—*divī*?

ājya—*limam*?

bhojana—*dekaram*, the real word seems to be **de* for which cf. Lepcha—*zo*, *tha*, and Magar—*jeu*, Tib. *za-ba*.

gūḍha—*duma*?

svāminī—*japam*—**jap* cf. Tib. *zab* meaning 'husbanding.'

piḍāmi—*barise*?

āgataḥ—*enire* **eni* cf. Newar-wone, Tib. *'on ba*, etc., meaning 'to come.'

gacchāmi—*nigānitesi*; the correct form probably was **nigānire* which may contain two words *ni*, *ga* and the suffix *re*, cf. Tib. *gyo*, *gyok*; Lepcha—*non*; Muami—*nyu*, etc.

supta—*suraktam* = •surot ? *cf.* Lepca-da, Gurung-rod

upta *bīja*—*nībinakā* vulg. *nilinitigī* ?

samudra—*andhakāyo* ?

pṛthivī—*anānī* *cf.* Šokpa—wonnish.

parvata—*uruka* = •uruk *cf.* Libetan—ri, Lepca—rok, Bhutanese—rong.

sapta—*dveyāsini* ?

nagarāstridaśa—*adhenā susurā* ?

sādhyā—*pištāla* ?

svābhūja—*paśābarā*.

pakṣī—*urba* *nogā*, for bird *cf.* Tib. *byu*, Bhutanese *bhya*, Lepca—*pho*,
Limbu-bu. Newar—*jhangō*, *jha-ngo*, Thochu—*marwo*,
Horpa—*gyo*.

hastī—*ṭiṭila* ?

aśvā—*nuka jabā*—•*nuk jab* *cf.* Lepca—*on^k*, Limbu—*on^k*, Tib. *chibs*.

aja—*anīḍa* = **anīḍ* *cf.* Tib. —*ra*, Bhutanese—*rah*. *agar-rha*, Gurung—*ra* ;

gardabha—*kharag* ?

gāta—*śrota jabān* ?

cf. Tib. *ba*, Lepca—*bik*, Limbu—*bit*, Newar—*sā*, Thochu—*sa-lo* ; *Chepang*—*yo shyā* (a bull).

mahiṣa—*anujapā* = **anu*, *jap*

cf. Limbu—*sawet*, Kiranti—*sanwa*.

uṣṭra—*mīna dvira* ?

vyāghra—*pura*, *nyāsā* ?

for 'tiger' *cf.* Sokpa—*par*.

mṛga = *śira kolo*, probably mistake for •*śiba kol* ?

cf. *Chepang*—*kosya*, Tib. *śa ba*, Tib. (spoken) *śa-p'o* ; Ladaki—*śa-po*.

sarpa—*sahinī* ?

vijātayaḥ—*kahiśeṣa* ?

Besides these rapprochements another important fact is to be noted. The few verbs that are mentioned in the list—*enire*, *barire*, *nigānire*, etc., end in *re*. Hodgson in his *Comparative Vocabulary*¹ of these languages notes that in Limbu the suffix *ré* is usually found with the verbs. *Cf.* *pārē*—to give, *phérē*—to come, *pirē*—to give, *lérē*—to take away, *xérē*—to kill, etc.

¹ For the comparison I have mostly depended on this Vocabulary of Hodgson.

The words belonging to the language of the Lāmos discussed above therefore further corroborate the fact that these *yoginīs* belonged to some Tibetan race and that the compiler of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras had a real knowledge of their practices. For facilitating intercourse with them a selection of some common words of their language was also made by them. The mystics, both female and male of India, really used to have regular intercourse with those of other contiguous countries in ancient times, and through this intercourse, exchange of ideas and practices were made. It is for that reason that we still find in the Tantras vestiges of mystic doctrines foreign to India

THE TEXTS.¹

I

(Fol. 187a) चन्वच्छिन् देवतासंगो ह्यस्य.....कारयेत् ।
 तन्वीरु² गुरुवाक्यं च विकल्पैर्वावतारयेत् ॥
 विषयेषु लोलुपक्षितं नियमे हि अपवाहिनी ।
 समयाचारवेष्टासु चप्रसादो सदा भवेत् ॥
 चात्मानं सर्व्वतः पश्येत् अद्वितपरिभावितः ।
 नारीचर्यासमुल्येन संयमो व्रतपालनं ॥
 तिथौ तिथेव तु कुर्व्यात् नियमैः परिभूषितं ।
 स्वविकल्पेन लामानां सम्प्रदाय निवर्त्तते ॥
 शीतसञ्चरणे चैव नित्यमक्रोधरो भवेत् ।
 इत्यष्टौ समया प्रोक्ता लामावर्गस्य सिद्धिदा ॥

II

(Fol. 189b) प्रश्नमेदोयं चैव निर्व्वष्टपदपद्धतिं ।
 योगिनी काश्यपोनां च ज्ञापका यणु साम्प्रतं ॥
रामेष्टीरचनाः शीति प्रश्नो,यं प्रथमो मतः ।³
शययोगी मयाचय द्वितीयः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥
द्वये इन्द्रं मिलपिप्तेति लामा - तृतीयकं ।
चतुर्थीयनये भीमि चलने मिरने विलः ।
एविमासप्तमाज्ञानं जंभस्तं भञ्जकामि च ।
 दुर्भेदो पञ्चमं प्रश्नं कथितस्तव सुव्रते ।

(Fol. 190c) एते प्रासादहात्यानि षट्सु परिकीर्त्तितः ।
 इति कौलकहायोगं योगानि सप्तमः परं ॥
एत व्याधिःसुप्रिय किमेनेनहिमीमति ।
 षटमे द्वेवि दुर्भेदः प्रश्नो योगेश्वरैरपि ॥

¹ From the *Jayadratha Yāmala*, Śaṭka III, paper MS. No. 375 of the Nepal Darbar Library. I have printed the text as it is without proposing any emendation.

² The underlined passages are supposed to be the eleven questions to be put to the Yoginis while meeting them in deep dark nights. The language in which they are garbed is characterised as *Paiśāca Samskr̥ta*, i.e., the Sanskrit of the *Piśācas*. Nothing could be made out of these questions, though their explanation is given in the verses that follow.

तिमौदिवितलांगानिवीविमौनमौनला ।

गमनेति महाप्रश्नो नवमो दुर्गमः परः ॥

फिनीमहा सुनीमहा नारासि नेनरासकृत ।

कराचरिणि दशमा मातृषामपि च तथा ॥

दुर्भेद्योऽयं महाप्रश्नः.....

योनिसशेषतरुहरे शिमथुरफलं दुरुदष्टं ॥

नाहृतमानेति तथा एकादशमो महाप्रश्नः ।

अन्धकारे महाघोरे देशात् संस्कृतं वदेत् ॥

बोटयाव्यय (?) भेद्यं प्रथमस्य वरानने ।

नाथं भित्तोमयामस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रभेदेन ॥

पिबाम्यद्य प्रभंगिं वा तृतीयस्य विभेदेन ।

अवकारनता लामा एभिभिच्छति सुव्रते ॥

चतुर्थस्य तु देवेशि भेदेन परिकीर्तितं ।

जन्मसप्तकसप्रुक्तो एषनामवमोदकः ॥

भक्त्याम्यद्य एष्टेति पञ्चमस्य वरानने ।

प्रसादशिखरादुद विलंघ्यं वृत्तिविचयं ॥

मन्त्रां मनारमां लक्षां आगमिष्यति तत्परः ।

महासिद्धिं महाघोरं गगने न महातपे ॥

गत्वा तु मानुषादुदा आगमिष्यति सप्तमे ।

प्राणजन्तु नरेन्द्रस्य (?) पिबामीष्टमे श्रुतः ॥

सुरालये नगादुदा गन्धोगा नवमस्य तु ।

महानासाचरे यते सती तस्य तु रोचनं ॥

गृहीत्वा तस्य काष्ठस्य आगच्छामोपरस्य तु ।

इति प्रश्नभेदाद्य योगिनोनां समागमे ॥

कथितां तव देवेशि गुह्यात् गुह्यतराः पराः ॥

अतिगुह्यतरा देवि शृणुभाषा विकल्पनं ।

अभिवादनं भिञ्चेति नारिसि विवि स्नागते ॥

लासभा इति माता तु भागिनी भागिनी श्रुता ।

दुष्टिनी दुष्टितेव्यायुः अस्तुभिः समनी विदुः ॥

नीमिशीमिति भावय्या पत्नी गुप्सुनये तथा ।

मातृष्व मातुलः प्रीक्तो पौष्टिमिस्थो पिता तथा ॥

विमिनीति तथा नभा बालुसीति पितामहः ।

मातामहं पिलपिते तुनीनि परिकीर्तिताः ॥

ऐरोशं सुरभक्तो आपीसि पक्षीरामुच्यते ।
दिवी दधि लिमं आन्यं देकरं भोजनं तथा ॥
दुम गूढस्य विज्ञेयो अपमौतीति स्वामिनौ ।
पिबामौति वरिरे एनिरे वेति आगतः ॥
निगानितेवो गच्छामि सुरक्तं सुप्रमुच्यते ।
उमविजे नीविनका भाषा निलिनीतिगो तथा ॥
अम्बकायो समुद्रस्य अनानी पृथिवी कृता ।
ऊरुका पर्यता देवि सप्तशेयासिनौ तथा ॥
अधेना सुसुराज्ञेया नगरास्त्रिदशा कृता ।
पिशिताल तथा साध्या सुभूजास्तु पशावरा ।
उर्व्वनीगा तथा पक्षो टिटिला इस्तिनस्तथा ।
तुक्त जवा तथा अन्ना अनीडस्तु अर्जं विदुः ।
महिषः अमुजपा देवि उट्टो मीनद्विरस्तथा ।
गर्हंभी खरगः प्रोक्तो गावः श्रीतजवान् तथा ।
पुरन्यासास्तथा व्याघ्रं शौरकोलो मृगस्तथा ।
सहिनीता तथा सर्पं कहिशिष विजातयः ॥
याज्ञिकानां वरारोहे द्रव्यसंग्रहणं कृतं ।
परस्परविरोधेन एषां चैव महानघे ॥
उत्पद्यन्त सहस्राणि स्वभावाभारणाणि तु ॥
योगिनी रूपिणी लामा शाकिनी हीणाक्षिनी खगो ।
बुलिविला तौखगगा पेशिनी देहिनी जला ।
रेवती वेधनी लुकी पड़भी रक्तिनी द्विषा ।
करोठी कालुशी भद्रा दुन्दुभी सुखरातुरा ।

(Fol. 191a) चतुर्विंशतिनामानि लामानां परिभाषणे ॥
पिशितं फलगुपं मांसं पैशाचं राक्षसागणं ।
ऊर्ध्वं पवितं सर्वस्व प्राणिजं देहधारिणं ॥
द्रवं पिच्छिलकं प्राणं जसीसीरजमन्त्रकं ।
करं पीतं तथा श्रेतं दशमं आधिरं कृतं ॥
काष्ठं शयं मृतं सुप्तं असंस्कारं चितात्मजं ।
शतप्राणमनामं च विमुक्तं प्रेतलक्ष्यं ।
गूढं समानसंस्थानं छेदवासं वृत्तस्य तु ।
भजजुषखटं खादं पिबं भूयं अशेकदं ।

प्राथं वोटं च एतानि दश नामानि भक्षणे ।
 प्रेतालयं महाघोरं यमशानं निशिभूषणं ।
 सर्वोन्नागेषणं भीषं चण्डराक्षसधामकं ।
 दीपनं चैव भायं च चण्डकारं तमोत्कटं ।
 लामावासं महासिद्धिं शतज्योति शतज्वलं ।
 शिवालयं तु देवेशि यमशानं परिकीर्तितं ।
 गुह्यात् गुह्यतरं मन्त्रं सिद्धिख्याता यच्छब्दं च ।
 नायुमाशीस्त्रिया देवि पुत्रं गुह्यं च भक्षणं ।
 समाताजीय मेफेति पत्नी चैव शिखं धृतं ।
 लसं तप्री तथा रक्तं भीमां संफेची कुर्यात् ।
 दाशितं च तथा योगी लामालाक्षीतिरपिणी ।
 कुरु शक्तिनो दुरिति चत्वां चुद्धीमहायुषं ।
 चां यागां व्रं तथा देवि विज्ञेयमभिवादनात् ।
एकाचरा समुत्तापा एते मातृगणस्य तु ॥

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—While examining some MSS. in the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* for other studies, I have recently come upon another text concerning the *Lāmās*. It is found in the Buddhist compendium called *Abhidhānottara*, preserved in the Government collection (see also H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of the Government Collection of Buddhist MSS.*, 1917, No. 10759). The MS. was copied in 1298 A.D. One of the sections (*paṭala*) is called the *Lāmā'akṣaṇa-paṭala* (fol. 83b ff.). The *Lāmās* are conceived here as female ascetics of different types. One of the types is described as possessed with well proportioned limbs (*samyagaṅgāvayava*), and round face (*mukhaṁ yasyās tu dṛśyate parimaṇḍalam*). They have long eye-lashes, and are well-dressed (*suvastrā*), beautiful and truthful (*saumyā, satyavādinī*). They are faithful to their true religion and brave sisters (*saddharmaratā nityaṁ vīrabhoginyaḥ*). The *dharma* and *karma* mudrās are to be used with them. Another type of *Lāmās* has long lips (*lamboṣṭhī*), red grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*), auspicious looks and are fair like the Campaka flowers (*subhagā dhanyā gaurī campaka-sannibhā*). They are tall (*dīrghā*), have fearful faces (*karālā*) and are fond of coloured dresses (*vicitra-vasana-priyā*). They laugh and play and stand obstructing the route (*hasate ramate caiva mārṅgam ākramya tiṣṭhati*). The *śūla-mudrā* is to be used with them.

A third type of *Lāmās* is red and fair (*rakta-gaurā*) and has red, grey eyes (*rakta-piṅgala-locanā*). They have wavy hairs and put on a sort of

head-dress (*kuñcitā ca tathā keśā patlabandha śire tathā*) and they have one wrinkle on their forehead (*lalāte dṛsyate caiva ekarekhā*). They are long-necked, and fond of singing. They are particularly restless and protect in quarrels (*calaccittā viśeṣeṇa kalahesu ca rakṣyate*). The *śakti-mudrā* is to be used with them.

The last type of *Lāmās* is short-statured and is fond of yellow clothes (*hrasvā sthūla-janghā pītavastra-priyā*); they have dark grey eyes (*kṛṣṇa-piṅgalalocanā*) and are dreadful-looking (*karālavikṛtāghorā sthūlā syāt sthūlavaktrajā | lambosṭhī kṛṣṇavarṇā ca koṭarākṣī rugnanāsikā ||*). They are fond of dancing, have dark colour and are charming (*nṛtya-gandharva-kuśalā meghavarṇā manoharā*). The *Nāgamudrā* is to be used with them. Such *Lāmās* are called *Heruka-lāmās* (*Srī Herukāṇām ca lāmānām etadbhāvati lakṣaṇam*).

The text further speaks of the *ḍākinīs* and the symbolic language to be used with them. I will deal with this symbolic language along with other similar Tantric devices in a future article. During my stay in Nepal I did not succeed in getting any information either about the *Lāmas* or *Lāmo devī*. I am however informed by some Nepalese of *ayakot* that there are temples of *Lāmo* devīs in the interior of Nepal. The Tibetan *Bla-mas* only are entitled to enter the temples for worshipping them. It is currently believed also that if anybody excepting the priests enters the temple he is sure to die.

SOME TECHNICAL TERMS OF THE TANTRAS

Candra-Sūrya

Though some scholars still entertain doubts as to the use of symbolical terms¹ in the Tantras it is undeniable that such terms do exist in the Tantrik literature both Buddhist and Brahmanical. I propose here to study these terms as far as possible with the help of texts, either published or still in manuscript, and to draw the attention of scholars to the importance of this symbolism in the study of the Tantras. The presence of such technical terms in the Tantras renders their interpretation not only difficult but sometimes almost impossible for want of proper materials which contained the clue. It is therefore dangerous to take such terms in their literal sense because that does not only vitiate our interpretation but also hinders all progress in the study of Indian mysticism. As it will be seen, this symbolism is not arbitrary but is the logical outcome of some very old and original notions about things. It further points to the common basis of both Buddhist and Brahmanical mysticism.

Candra and Sūrya or the moon and the sun are two technical terms which are often met with both in the Buddhist and Brahmanical texts of mysticism. In the Buddhist *Caryāpadas*,² written in old Bengali, and the Apabhramṣa texts called *Dohākośa* which may be placed sometime between the 8th and 12th centuries A.D. these two terms or their synonyms are often used :

1. The *Dohākośa* of Saraha, verse 25 :

jahi maṇa pavaṇa ṇa sañcarai ravi sasi nāha pavesa |
tahi baḍa citta viśāma karu..... |

“ There where the mind and the wind do not move about, there where the *ravi* and the *śaśin* do not enter, repose your *citta* there.....”

¹ I pointed it out sometime ago in a short note on *Sandhābhāṣā* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*) and in my review of the *Sādhana-mālā* (*I.H.Q.*, VI, p. 878). But see Winternitz, *Notes on the Guhyasamāja* (*I.H.Q.*, IX, pp. 1 ff.).

² For the *Caryāpadas*, references are made to the text published by the late Dr. H. P. Sastri but I have adopted the correct readings as established in the forthcoming edition of the work prepared by me in collaboration with Dr. S. K. Chatterji. For the *Dohākośa* cf. the text as established by Dr. Shahidullah—*Les chants mystiques*.

From the above passages ¹ it is evident that *sūrya* and *candra* or *ravi* and *śaśin* are to be destroyed, mixed up together so that they may lose their independent existence, and to be made into ornaments, *i.e.*, to be subordinated. When it is said that the sun is the gourd to which moon-strings have been affixed the implication is that they have not been allowed to work independently and have been brought together in such a fashion as to function in a combined way. Such treatment of the sun and the moon has been prescribed for bringing about a state of mind which is beyond the reach of the senses. This is a state of perfect repose and as that state of repose can be disturbed only by the sun and the moon these should be either removed, subordinated or controlled in such a way as not to be able to work independently.

There are also indications, in the passages quoted above, of the fact that these two, namely, the sun and the moon, are connected with the two sides (*beṇṇa bi pāsa*)—the right and the left (*vāma-dāhiṇa*), and are compared to the two wings (*pakṣā*). This idea is also expressed in some of the Caryās :

1. Caryā 8 (Kambalapāda) : *vāma dāhiṇa cāpi mili mili māgā*—where the poet says that he has been able to attain the great bliss (*mahāsuha*) “by keeping close to the (middle) way and pressing (*i.e.*, keeping under control) the right and the left (ways).”
2. Caryā 15 (Śāntipāda) : *vāma dāhiṇā do vāṭa cchāḍi*—where

¹ The extracts from Sanskrit commentaries to these passages are given below in order :

- [1] यच्च सर्वज्ञानं सूर्यं स्वसंवेदनतया गुरोरादिशात् । न स्थितेऽपि चित्तविश्रामं कुरु यच्च महत्त्वं प्राप्नोति [सि ?] । तस्मिन् स्थाने मनसः पवनस्य च संचारी न भवति । तत्रैव रविशशिनीः प्रवेशनिष्कासी न स्तः ।
- [2] वामनासापुटे प्रज्ञाचन्द्रस्वभावेन ललना स्थिता । दक्षिणनासापुटे उपायसूर्यस्वभावेन रसना स्थिता ।
- [3] No commentary.
- [4] वज्रजापपरिशोधितचन्द्रसूर्यादिकेन घण्टानूपुरादिशोगिकालङ्कारं कृतम् ।
- [5] चन्द्रं प्रज्ञाज्ञानं सूर्यमुत्पादज्ञानं पुलिन्दं सन्नाभाभावना नृपुंसकम् । यच्च एते संसारस्य सृष्टिसंहार-कारकाः । सर्वधर्मानुपलम्भजलधौ गच्छन् सन् वामदक्षिणमातृपश्चात्तोरमनुपश्यन्तीति भो जीन्वि स्वच्छन्देन विलक्षणशोधितबोधिचित्तनीवाहनाभ्यासं कुरु ।
- [6] सूर्याभासं तु बिनाकारसुतप्रेत्य चन्द्राभासेन तत्तिकाच्च ।
- [7] नादविन्वादिविकल्पपरिहारात्—
- [8] वज्रजापीपदेशेन चन्द्रसूर्ययोः पञ्चयज्ञं खण्डयित्वा—

the poet says that he moves on at will "after abandoning the right and the left ways."

3. Caryā 32 (Sarahapāda) : *vāma dahiṇa jo khāla vikkhālā* : "the right and the left are the pitfalls."¹

That the two ways on either side, right and left, are pitfalls and full of difficulties is also indicated when it is said by the Siddha Cāṇḍī : *duānte cikhīla mājhe na thāī*—there is no ford on either of the two sides which are full of mud.

The sun and the moon, in some of the Caryās, are further connected with *kāli* (consonants beginning with *ka*) and *āli* (vowels beginning with *a*) respectively :

1. Caryā 7 (Kāhnu) : *āliē kāliē vāṭa rundhelā*—"the way (*i.e.*, the right way) has been obstructed by the vowels and the consonants."

2. Caryā 11 (Kṛṣṇapāda) :

āli kāli ghaṇṭā neūra carape
ravi-śaṣi-kuṇḍala kiū ābharaṇe

"*Āli* and *kāli*, *i.e.*, vowels and consonants have been made into the anklets and the sun and the moon into rings of the ears."²

When *āli* and *kāli* are mentioned, apparently certain emphasis is laid on the sound-value of the vowels and consonants and this emphasis is clearly kept in view in comparing them with *nūpura*, *i.e.*, anklets, of which the utility consists in the fact that they make some sound whereas the *kuṇḍala* or the earring has no such value. The same idea is expressed by another, Siddha Viṇāpāda (Caryā 17), when he says : *āli kāli beṇi sārī suṇāe*, *i.e.*, "*āli* and *kāli* are the two things which produce the notes in the strings of the *viṇā*."

Another idea is attached to it when Luipāda in one of his Caryās (1) says : *amhe jhāṇe dīthā—dhamāṇa camāṇa beṇi pāṇḍi baṭṭhā* "I have

¹ The comments on these passages in order are :

[1] वामदक्षिणभासद्वयं मध्यमायां प्रवेशयित्वा-

[2] No comment.

[3] वामदक्षिणभासद्वयपरिहारात्—

² The comments on these two passages are :

[1] वज्रपापीपदेशं लब्ध्वा...कालिना लोकशानेन कालिना लोकभासेन च एकीकृत्यावधूतीमार्गं सुदृढं बन्धत ।

[2] वज्रपापपरिशीलितचन्द्रसूर्यादिकेन घण्टानूपुरादियोगिकालद्वारेण कृतम् ।

seen in meditation after sitting on (*i.e.*, keeping under control) the two—*dhamaṇa* and *camana*. The Sanskrit commentary connects *dhamaṇa* with *āli* and *śaśin* whereas *camana* is connected with *kāli* and may be thus derived from the root *dhmā* which indicates a forward or outward movement, whereas *camana* may be derived from the root *cam* which means 'to eat,' *i.e.*, taking in.

Last of all in a Caryā of the Siddha Dombipāda (14) the sun and the moon are compared to the two rivers *Yamunā* and *Gaṅgā*: *Gaṅgā-Jaiṇā mājhere bahaī nāī*—"the boat is being rowed (in a river) in the middle of the *Gaṅgā* and the *Yamunā*." The commentator tells us that the *Gaṅgā* is the moon and *Yamunā* is the sun.¹

We therefore get two groups of terms and each of them contains implications of the same nature. These two groups are :

- I. *ravi*, *sūrya* (compared to the *lāū* or gourd used for the *vīṇā*), *kāli*, *camana*, *jaiṇā* (the *Yamunā*)—placed on the *dāhiṇa* or the right.
- II. *śaśin*, *candra* (compared to the *tantri* or the string of the *vīṇā*), *āli*, *dhamana*, *Gaṅgā*—placed on the *vāma* or the left.

Now what do these two groups of terms really mean? On one occasion we have seen that the sun and the moon are called *la'ana* and *rasana*. The commentator while explaining this particular portion of the Caryā says, that *la'ana* is seated in the left nostril in the form of moon (*candra*) which is the *Prajñā* and *rasana* is seated in the right nostril in the form of the sun (*sūrya*) which is the *Upāya*. This can be further explained with the help of such authoritative Buddhist Tantras as the *Hevajra Tantra* and the *Heruka Tantra*.

In the *Hevajra* (Chap. I)² it is said that there are 32 naḍīs within the body and they carry the *bodhicitta* upwards which ultimately pours

¹ The Sanskrit comment runs :

गङ्गायसुनेति सन्ध्या चन्द्राभाससूर्याभासौ याज्ञयाङ्कौ ।

² From a Nepalese MS. of the text in my possession :

वायित् नायः क्षतिशब्दोधिचित्तवहाः । मङ्गासुखज्ञाने (sic. स्थाने) सवन्तः । तासां मध्ये तिष्ठः नायः प्रधानाः । ललना रसना अवधूति चिति ।

ललना प्रज्ञासम्भावेन रसनोपायसंस्थिता ।

अवधूति मध्यदेशे तु याज्ञयाङ्कवर्जिता ॥

अग्नीभ्यवहा ललना रसना रक्त[प्र]वाहिनी ।

प्रज्ञा चन्द्रवहा स्थिता अवधूति सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ (?)

आलि कालि चन्द्रसूर्य प्रज्ञोपाय ।

into the place of great bliss (*mahā-sukha-sthāna*). Three amongst the *nāḍīs* are principal and they are called *lalanā*, *rasanā* and *avadhūti*. The *lalanā* is characterised by *Prajñā* and *rasanā* by *Upāya* whereas the *avadhūti* is seated in the middle and is beyond the reach of 'the taken' and 'the taker' (*grāhya-grāhaka*)—i.e. the object and the subject. It is further said that the *lalanā* carries the *akṣobhya* (*Śukra* or the semen virile), and the *rasanā* carries the blood (*rakta*). It is besides pointed out in the same text that :

āli = *candra* = *prajñā* and *kāli* = *sūrya* = *upāya*.

Almost the same explanation is found in the *Heruka-Tantra*¹ in which it is said (Chap. V) : beginning from the region of the throat a *nāḍī* runs downwards along the left side up to the navel—it is the *candra* ; *āli* carries the *candra*. On the right side beginning from the navel a *nāḍī* runs upwards to the region of the throat, it is the *sūrya* ; *kāli* carries the *sūrya*. Elsewhere in the same text it is said that *lalanā* is the carrier of *śukra* and the *rasanā* is the carrier of the blood, that *lalanā* relates to the *sambhoga-kāya*, and *rasanā* to the *nirmāṇa-kāya* whereas *avadhūti* relates to the *dharmakāya* (Chap. VII).

This clearly relates to the *nāḍīs* of which the existence within the body is supposed by the Haṭhayogins. Such a hypothesis is also largely

¹ *Heruka-Tantra* [MS. in my possession]—

Paṭala V. 6.7 :

कण्ठादारभ्य वामेन प्रवृत्ता नाभिमण्डली ।
नाडिकाधोमुखी चन्द्र आलिचन्द्रसमावृता ॥
नाभेरारभ्य सव्येन प्रवृत्ता कण्ठदेशतः ।
नाडिकोर्ध्वमुखी सूर्यः कालिचक्रसमावृता ॥

Paṭala VII. 16-20 :

तेषां मध्ये स्थिता नाडी ललना सूत्र [sic. शृङ्ग] (प) वाहिनी ।
दक्षिणे रसना ख्याता नाडो रक्तप्रवाहिणी ॥
संज्ञतो मध्यभागेन हृत्सरोरुहमध्यगा ।
कदलिपुष्पसङ्काशं लम्बमाना त्वधोमुखी ॥
तैलवज्रि[शि]खोद्गीता बोधित्तिसमावृता ।
सावधूती[ति] विज्ञेया सङ्गजानन्ददायिका ॥
ललना प्रज्ञास्वभावेन रसनोपायसंस्थिता ।
अवधूती धर्मकायः स्यादिति कायवयं मतं ॥
अवधूती मध्यदेशे तु यात्ययाहकवज्रिता ।
ललना सम्भोगिककायो रसना नैर्माणिकी तनुः ॥

corroborated by evidence from the Brahmanical Tantras and the Haṭha-yoga literature. In the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* (IV, 9) it is said that the sun and the moon determine the time in the nature of day and night whereas *suṣumṇā* (the *nāḍī* in the middle) eats up the time (*i.e.*, destroys its notion). Again while indicating the initial process of Yoga, namely, the *prāṇāyāma* or the regulation of breath, the same text says that the vital breath should be taken at first through the *candra* or moon and thrown out through the *sūrya* or the sun and then it should be taken through the sun and thrown out through the moon (II. 5). The same process is indicated in another śloka (II. 6) in a little different language which shows that Svātmārāma, the compiler of the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* has culled the two ślokas from two different sources. The śloka runs: the vital breath should be first taken in through the *iḍā* and thrown out through the other (*i.e.*, *piṅgalā*) and then it should be taken in through the *piṅgalā* and thrown out through the left one (*i.e.*, the *iḍā*); when this method of *sūrya* and *candramā* is practised for some time continuously all the *nāḍīs* become purified after three months. In the next stage of this Yoga the initiate has to hold the vital breath within himself in suspense and to send it through the *suṣumṇā*, the *nāḍī* in the middle. This is sufficient to show that the Brahmanical tradition of Haṭhayoga considered *candra* to be the same *nāḍī* as *iḍā* situated on the left and *sūrya* to be the same as *piṅgalā* seated on the right. Further the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* (III. 33) says that *iḍā* is the goddess Gaṅgā while *piṅgalā* is the river Yamunā (*iḍā bhagavati gaṅgā piṅgalā yamunā nadī*).¹

¹ *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* :

IV. 9. सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धनः कालं रात्रिदिवात्मकम् ।

भोक्त्री सुषुम्णा कालस्य गृह्यमेतदुदाहृतम् ॥

II. 5. ब्रह्मपद्मासनो योगी प्राणं चन्द्रेण पूरयेत् ।

धारयित्वा यथाशक्ति भूयः सूर्येण रेषयेत् ।

प्राणं सूर्येण चाकृष्य पूरयेदुदरं मनैः ।

विधिवत् कुम्भकं कृत्वा पुनश्चन्द्रेण रेषयेत् ॥

II. 6. प्राणं चेदिच्छया पिबेन्नियमितं भूयोऽन्यथा रेषयेत् ।

पीत्वा पिङ्गलया समीरयन्मयो बद्धा त्यजेद्दामया ।

सूर्याचन्द्रमसोरनेन विधिनाभ्यासं सदा तण्डुतां ।

गुह्या नाडीगणा भवन्ति यमिनां मासत्रयाद्दृढतः ॥

III. 33. इडा भगवती गङ्गा पिङ्गला यमुना नदी ।

The *Sāradātīlaka*, an authoritative Brahmanical Tantra, says¹ (I.39) that the human body has two aspects, *agni* and *soma*, and this is why the *bindu* also has two aspects. The right portion is called *sūrya* and the left *nīlākara*, i.e., moon. It further says that in the left there is the *nāḍī* *idā* and on the right *piṅgalā*. *Bindu* is supposed to be the cause of creation and its two aspects are explained by the commentator of the *Sāradātīlaka* as "*śukram agnirūpaṁ raktaṁ somarūpaṁ*"—that is to say that the *bindu* is composed of two elements, *śukra* and *rakta* of which the former has the character of *agni* and the latter that of *Soma*. Further discussion of *bindu* on this basis is found in the texts of Kashmir Śaivism like the *Kāmakaḷāvilāsa* of Puṇyāṇanda.² It is shown there that the *bindu* consists of two parts: one is white and the other is red and they represent the *Siva* and the *Sakti*.

In an unpublished work, called the *Akulāgama-Tānta*³ which belongs to the Kaula school, it is pointed out that the individual soul can attain *Siva* by abandoning the left and the right through Yogic practice and by bringing together the two vital winds called *prāṇa* and *apāna*. In an attempt to define the left and the right it further gives a large number of terms for each. These terms may be thus classified:

- I. *Dakṣiṇa*—*prāṇa*, *palita*, *sūkṣma*, *retas*, *sūrya*, *dharma*, *agni*, *sthira*, *para*, *dyau*, *bheda*, *citta*, *piṅgalā*, *yamunā*, *vidyā*, *bindu*, *rajas*, *bhāva*.
- II. *Vāma*—*apāna*, *bali*, *prakṛti*, *sthūla*, *rajas*, *candra*, *adharma*, *soma*, *asthira*, *apara*, *pṛthivī*, *abheda*, *acitta*, *idā*, *Jāhnavī*, *avidyā*, *nāda*, *tamas*, *abhāva*.

¹ *Sāradātīlaka*—

I. 39-40. चक्षुषीमात्मकी दक्षी विदुर्दुर्मयात्मकः ।
दक्षिणाग्निः श्रुतः सूर्यो वामभागी निशाकरः ।
इडा वामे तनोर्मध्ये सुषुम्णा पिङ्गला परे ।

² *Kāmakaḷāvilāsa*—

6. सितशेषविन्दुयुगलं विविक्तशिवशक्तिसंकुचतुप्रसरम् ।

³ A Nepalese MS. of this work has been recently acquired for the *Bengali Manuscript Library*, Calcutta University. For a detailed notice on this work see my edition of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, the Calcutta Oriental Series, No. III. The discussion regarding 'the left' and 'the right' occurs in I. 98 ff. and II. 26 ff. :

जीवस्य शिवसायुज्यं योगाभ्यासेन पार्ष्णीति ।
वामदक्षिणं व्यक्ता प्राक्कमूले समभ्यसेत् ॥
बली [प्र]कृतिं विख्याता पलितं पुरुषः श्रुतः ।
शूलसूत्रादिभिर्भावेर्द्विविधौ समवस्थितौ ॥

If we now classify all the terms of the two categories the two groups stand thus :

I. *Dakṣiṇa*—*rasanā*, *piṅgalā*, *sūrya*, *ravi*, *agni*, *prāṇa*, *camana*, *kālī*, *bindu*, *upāya*, *yamunā*, *rakta*[], *palita*, *sūkṣma*, *retas*, *dharma*, *sthira*, *para*, *dyau*, *bheda*, *citta*, *vidyā*, *rajas*, *bhāva*, *puruṣa*, *śiva*,—*nirmāṇa-kāya* and *grāhya*.

II. *Vāma*—*lalanā*, *idā*, *candra*, *śaśin*, *soma*, *apāna*, *dhamana*, *ālī*, *nāda*, *prajñā*, *gaṅgā*, *śukra*[], *balī*, *sthūla*, *rajas*, *adharma*, *asthira*, *apara*, *pṛthivī*, *abheda*, *acitta*, *avidyā*, *tamas*, *a'hāva*, *prakṛti*, *śakti* ;—*sambhogakāya* and *grāhaka*.¹

It is not possible for us to say anything about the *nāḍīs* of which the existence is supposed by the *Haṭhavyogins* within the body. It is no more possible for us to speak on the physiological changes which these *yogins* are supposed to experience in the initial stage of the *yoga* as well as in the advanced stage which brings in *samādhi*; but it is possible to follow these mystics up to a certain point in their use of the terms mentioned above.

When *prāṇa* and *camana* are used for the right side and *apāna* and *dhamana* for the left, it seems that air has been taken as the basis of life and hence of creation. The first two mean the inspiration and the second two expiration and in these two functions of the vital wind, within the body

रजो रेतस्योर्नाम सूर्याचन्द्रमसी प्रिये ।
चन्द्राचन्द्रावुभावेती समाश्री तु स्त्रीरिषी ।
अप्रीयोमात्मकी विद्धि अक्षीराचस्वरूपकी ॥
सत्यावृतसमाख्याती प्रलङ्घनी प्रकीर्तिती ।
सूर्याचन्द्रमसी त्रयो स्त्रिरास्त्रिरपरापरो ॥
द्यावापृथ्वीति विख्याती सदासती(?) चराचरी ।
वासुपथाविमी(?) जीवी पण्यते वेदशास्त्रयोः ॥
मेदामेदी मोचयन्ती चित्ताचिती च वर्ण्यते ।
इडापिङ्गलनामाख्या जीववीयमुने च ती ॥
किं पुनर्बहुनीक्तेन विद्याविद्यात्मकी प्रिये ।

¹ I should admit that regarding the position of some terms there is uncertainty. The Buddhist texts seem to prefer an inversion in case of *ālī-kālī*, *prajñā-upāya*, *rakta-śukra*, and *grāhaka-grāhya*. The other terms of the Buddhist texts conform to the order in which they are found in the Brahmanical texts. The inversion may be due to some confusion or it may be deliberate, because it appears in some cases that the functions ascribed to the *nāḍīs* are transferable. Cf. *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, II. 6, text quoted in note 1. p. 67.

of the individual, depend many of his notions of the external world. His notion of time is absolutely dependent on it from a subjective point of view. Therefore when these two functions of the air stop notion of time also disappears. The claim of the yogin is that it is possible to stop these two functions of the wind and to hold it within (*kumbhaka*) and through that complete *samādhi* can be attained.¹

If the notion of time is dependent on the two functions of the vital wind, inspiration and expiration, then the implication of such terms as *sūrya* and *candra* or *ravi* and *śaśin* becomes clear. The sun and the moon are really symbols of day and night and our notion of time is also based on them. The perception of the objective world is also based on them. The direct aim of the yogin is to extirpate such notions and thus to proceed towards *samādhi*. This is why it has been said on so many occasions that 'the sun' and 'the moon' should be killed.

When sound is taken as the basis of creation as has been done by the *sphoṭavādins*, the question of *bindu* and *nāda* or *kāli* and *ālī* comes in. Without going in to the subtler aspects of this problem it may be pointed out that *bindu* is conceived as the subtle and inaudible form of sound whereas the *nāda* is the more audible form of it. They are characterised as *cit* and *acit*; *bindu* is conscious whereas *nāda* is unconscious. It can be further pointed out that the Kāśmir school of thinkers follow this line of thought still further and think that *bindu* and *nāda* represent *icchā* and *kriyā* or *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*, one meaning the desire of and the other an effort at realisation, *bindu* represents the desire and *nāda*, the effort. The two terms *nirmāṇa-kāya* and *sambhoga-kāya*, which we have found in the Buddhist texts imply the same tendencies. The *nirmāṇa* implies a tendency towards creation, whereas *sambhoga*, a realisation or fulfilment of that tendency. Some other terms *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, *Śiva* and *Śakti*, *rajas* and *tamas*, *vidyā* and *avidyā*, *retas* and *rajas*, etc., may be explained in this light. The two tendencies implied by these terms lead to creation and bind down the subject to the object, the individual to the illusory world. The yogin has got to control these two tendencies, bring about their unification and when this unification is complete the *samādhi* and a state of perfect bliss are attained.

¹ For determining the meaning of the two terms *camana* and *dhamana* I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. K. C. Chatterji. As regards the claim to stop the two functions of the air cf. *Haṭha*, III. 19 :

प्राणपानी नादबिन्दु मूलबन्धेन चैकताम् ।

गत्वा योगस्य संसिद्धिं गच्छतो नात्र संशयः ॥

I have left out till now the two words *kāli* and *āli* or 'the consonants' and 'the vowels.' It has been said before that in the use of these two terms emphasis is laid on the sound. In the consideration of these two terms, therefore, sound has been taken to be the basis of creation as in the case of *bindu* and *nāda*. Extending the same analogy we may say that *kāli*, i.e., the consonant, is the less audible expression of the *mātrkāś* whereas the *āli* is their more audible expression. So far, there is no difficulty but if we say that the sound in its tendency towards expression first gives rise to the consonants and then to the vowels we would be led to a theory which is contrary to what some of the Brahmanical treatises would have us believe.¹

Last of all the two terms *upāya* and *prajñā* raise a similar difficulty. In the Buddhist texts referred to above, it is clearly said that *upāya* is connected with *kāli*, i.e., the consonants whereas *prajñā* with *āli*, i.e., the vowels. The *prajñā*, therefore, in conformity with the previous analogy, should be taken to be the less distinct and less conscious element whereas *upāya* is the more distinct and more conscious element.

But *kāli* and *āli*, *upāya* and *prajñā* may be explained from another point of view and this time along the *Yamunā* and *Gaṅgā*. The natural relation of these two rivers is that *Gaṅgā* is the more important river and the *Yamunā* being only its tributary supplies water to it and the former feeds on that water. Thus *Gaṅgā* is the *grāhaka* and *Yamunā* is the *grāhya*. In conformity with this analogy *āli* is the more important sound as it is more audible and *kāli* for its expression depends on the help received from the *āli*, i.e., the vowels. In other words the consonants can be distinctly pronounced only with the help of vowels and from this point of view *kāli* is the *grāhaka* and *āli* is the *grāhya*. In the same way if *upāya* involves a certain desire (*icchā*) for self-expression *prajñā* (sapience) can be said to be dependent on it; the *candra* (moon) also depends on the *sūrya* (sun) for its self-expression. Thus *prajñā* is the *grāhaka*, *upāya* the *grāhya* and *candra* is the *grāhaka*, *sūrya* the *grāhya*.

¹ As to the theory which occurs in the Brahmanical texts, cf. the passage of the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* discussed *infra*; also the passage quoted by Amṛtānandanātha in his commentary on *Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā* under I. 14 :

अकारः सर्वेष्वर्थः प्रकाशः परमः शिवः ।

इकारोऽन्त्यकलारूपी विमर्शाख्यः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

Besides, of the two words *vyāñjana* and *śvara*, the former is etymologically associated with darkness (*añjana*) and the latter with light "that which is self-existent."

On this analogy the other terms *piṅgalā* and *idā*, *agni* and *soma* also may be explained. *Piṅgalā* seems to be the *agni*, fire, as it indicates the colour of fire (*piṅgala*) whereas *idā* which means 'nourishment' is taken as 'the personification of the offering.' *Soma* is also the offering. This offering which is meant for the gods is without any value unless it gets the help of the *agni* which is supposed to carry it to the proper destination. It seems that as if *idā* the 'personified offering' wants to reach the gods and she avails herself of the help of *agni* to reach there. *Idā* is therefore the *grāhaka* and *agni* is the *grāhya*.

I do not want to carry this analogy further. But from what I have said it is probably clear that the two categories of terms which I have discussed, apart from the mechanism of Haṭhayoga, seem to have been selected according to certain principles. As in almost all the texts greater emphasis is laid on the terms *piṅgalā* and *idā* and *agni* and *soma*, terms connected with the sacrifice, it seems that according to some thinkers the sacrifice performed outside had also its counterpart within the body¹ and through an extension of this analogy some terms relating to the external sacrifice were applied to indicate the old notions of some functions of the basic elements within the body.

There is no doubt that some of these notions are very old. The *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*, which is in parts obscure for its mystic trend, contains a passage which is significant (VIII. 1.3): "The space within is as vast as the external sky. In both of these are united *the earth* and *the heaven*, *the fire* and *the air*, *the sun* and *the moon*, the lightning and constellations, *whatever relates to one also relates to the other*."

In many places of the *Chāndogya* as well as of other *upaniṣads* references are made to *hṛdayasya nāḍyāḥ*, i.e., the *nāḍis* within the body. In the *Chāndogya* (VIII. 6.1) these *nāḍis* are once called *piṅgalā* because the sun is *piṅgala*. The reason for this is thus given: "As a route established between two villages connects both, so the rays of the sun goes to both the worlds and from the sun above are propagated in the *nāḍis*."

Elsewhere in the *Chāndogya* (III. 13) it is said that the vital air within, passes through five different channels (*suṣi*) and of these five "the *prāṇa* is the eastern channel, it is the eye, the sun (*āditya*), and the force (*tejas*).....the *apāna* is the western channel, it is the speech, the fire—the *vyāna* is the southern channel, it is the ear, the moon (*candra*)."

¹ The fundamental principle of the tantras on this point has been clearly brought out by Sir John Woodroffe: *Shakti and Shakta*, p. 408—"the man is a Microcosm; whatever exists in the outer universe exists in him."

But a somewhat different idea is also recorded in the *Chândogya* (I. 3) when it is said that *vyāna* is the combination of the *prāṇa* and *apāna* and it is the speech because inspiration and expiration stops when one speaks.

Now the speech which is here said to combine in it the two motions of the vital air consists of the consonants and the vowels, *vyañjana* and *svara* which are described in the later texts as *kāli* and *āli*, as the sun and the moon, the day and the night. A similar idea is contained in the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II. 2.4) where it is said: *vyañjanairēva rātrī-rāpnuvanti svarai-rahāni*, i.e., "night is obtained through the consonants, and day through the vowels." In the Buddhist texts there is an inversion of this notion.

Finally, I cannot help referring to two passages of the *Atharvaveda* in this connection. In the Atharva XI. 4.12 and 21 certain ideas are expressed which seem to bear comparison to what I have said :

12. The *Prāṇa* is the sun and the moon, the *Prāṇa* is the *Prajāpati*.
21. The *harṇsa* does not take one of his feet from the water, if he had done so there would be no more to-day and to-morrow, no more day and night.¹

Harṇsa is generally explained as the vital air.

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST MYSTICISM IN THE CARYĀPADAS

The Caryāpadas¹ were published for the first time by the late Dr. H. P. Shāstrī from an old manuscript discovered in Nepal. The work is a collection of 50 Caryāpadas, of which three are now missing ; they were composed by various authors like Sarahapāda, Kānhupāda (*alias* Kṛṣṇācārya), Bhusuku, Dombi, all of whom appear in the list of 84 Siddhas who had flourished some time between the 10th and 12th centuries A. D. As the manuscript was unique and as the language of the text was unfamiliar the learned editor could not settle the text in a satisfactory way. Since then Dr. S. K. Chatterji has studied the language of these texts and characterised it as old Bengali² (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, I, p. 112). Some time ago Dr. Shahidullah re-edited the Caryās of Saraha and Kānhu in the appendix to his work—*Les Chants Mystiques*, but for the want either of a second manuscript or of a Tibetan translation the text could not be settled to his entire satisfaction though many improvements were made. The main thesis of Dr. Shahidullah being the study of Dohās he had no occasion to pay special attention to the esoteric doctrines of the Caryās.

The Tibetan translation of the text so long searched for in vain is however preserved in the *Bstan-hgyur*, Vol. XLVII, 35 (Cordier, *Catalogue* II, p. 225)—the *Spyod pa'i glu'i mdsed kyi 'grel pa shes bya ba*—the *Caryāgītikośa-vṛtti-nāmā* (Narthang, XLVII, pp. 161-205). The work,

¹ *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, publication of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, Calcutta. A second revised edition of the book prepared by me in collaboration with Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (London), is in course of impression.

² Dr. S. K. Chatterji has given his reasons in detail in his book. The most definite Bengali characteristics of this language are: the genitive in—*era*, *ara* (এর, অর), dative in *re* (রে), locative in *ta* (ত), post-positional words like *mājha* (মাঝ), *antara* (অন্তর), *sāṅga* (সাঙ্গ), past and future bases in *-il-*, *-ib-* (ইল, ইব), and not *-al-*, *-ab-* of Bihari, present participle in *-anta* (অন্ত) conjunctive in *ilā* (ইলি), passive in *-ia* (ইঅ), substantive roots *āch* (আছ), and *thāk* (থাক), and not *thik* (থিক) of Maithili or *thā* of Oriyā and a number of Bengali idioms. But it is strange that Mr. Jayaswal in his Presidential address to the 7th All-India Oriental Conference of Baroda, without any reference to the work of Dr. Chatterji and without going into the philological evidence adduced by him, has formally accepted the theory of Rev. R. Sankrityāyana, that the language of the Caryāpadas is old Bihari. This theory formulated by the latter for the first time in the Hindi Magazine *Gaṅgā* has no critical value whatsoever.

which contains the translation of both the Caryās and their Sanskrit Commentary, was compiled by Munidatta and translated by Kirticandra in the city of Yambu in Nepal.

The Tibetan translation helps us in determining the exact name of the work. Dr. H. P. Shāstri published the work under the caption *Caryācarya-viniścaya* which is however not found anywhere in the text. But it was certainly not his invention. In the opening verse of the Sanskrit commentary on the first Caryā attributed to Luyi-pāda it is said—*श्रीलुयीचरगादि-सिद्धरचितेऽन्याश्चर्यं चर्यं चरं* [MS. has —इत्याश्च] which is translated in Tibetan as—“dpal ldan Lū yi shabs sogs grub pa rnam kyis gsuñs sin ya (? *sin lu*) mtshan spyod pa'i glu yi thogs.” Thus the name of the text which appears in the Sanskrit verse as *Āścarya-caryācaya*¹ is also translated as the “very wonderful Caryā songs.” It therefore seems that the name chosen by Dr. Shāstri was based on a wrong reading of the title—*Caryāścarya-viniścaya* which however was not exactly quoted but suggested in the Sanskrit verse referred to. The name preserved in Tibetan *Caryāgītikośa-vṛtti* refers to the commentary and thus *Caryāgītikośa* might have been another name under which the collection of the Caryās was known.

The special terminology which has been used in the Caryās for preaching the esoteric doctrines is characterised in the text as *Sandhyā-bhāṣā*. Paṇḍit Vidhuśekhara Shāstri² with the help of a large number of texts pointed out that it should be corrected as *Sandhā-bhāṣā* meaning “intentional speech” and not “the twilight language” as Dr. H. P. Shāstri maintained and as some scholars still continue to maintain in spite of what has been said to the contrary. The Tibetan translation of the Caryāpadas and their commentary now amply confirms what Paṇḍit Vidhuśekhara Shāstri suggested.

In some places of the Sanskrit commentary the words *abhisandhya* and *sandhyayā* (to be corrected as *sandhayā*) occur in the same sense : p. 8—(Comm. on the Caryā of Virūva) *gurūpadeśāt abhisandhya*, p. 11—(the Caryā of Cāṭilla), *nadī-sandhyayā boddhanyam*, p. 29—(the Caryā of Mahīdhara), *Cittagajendrasandhyayā tamevārtham pratipādayati*, p. 40—(the Caryā of Kānha) *sandhyayā prāṇāpānam.....parikalpya*. In all these cases *abhisandhya* and *sandhyayā* (sic *sandhayā*) are translated in Tibetan as “dgoñs pa'i skad kyis,” i.e., by means of intentional language.

¹ Paṇḍit Vidhuśekhara Shāstri suggested this as the correct form of the title in a note published in the Bengali Journal *Prabasi*.

² *H.Q.*, 4, 1928, 287 ff.

In several other cases the same sense is brought out by the words *vyāja* and *utprekṣā* : p. 16—(the Caryā of Kambala) *karuṇāvyājena*..... .. *karuṇeti sandhyā* (sic. *sandhā*)-*bhāṣayā utprekṣālaṅkāraparam boddhavyam*, p. 18—(the Caryā of Kānhu) *sandhyābhāṣayā* (sic.) *tamevārtham utprekṣayantaḥ*, p. 26—(the Caryā of Ḍombi) *naukāpravāhavyājena prakāṣayati* and p. 73—(the Caryā of Bhusukupāda) *baṅgālikāvyājena tamevārtham pratipādayati*. In all these cases again the words *vyāja* and *utprekṣā* are rendered into Tibetan by “dgoṅs pa’i skad kyis,” i.e., by means of intentional language. The word “dgoṅs pa” means—to purpose, to intend, to think, to cogitate, etc. Though it does not faithfully bring out the sense of *vyāja* and *utprekṣā* still it becomes clear that though *sandhā* primarily meant ‘intention’ in these cases it was used in a technical sense to mean a particular way of expression to explain the mystic doctrines as intended by the speaker by analogy (*vyāja*, *utprekṣā*).

In the Caryāpadas the mystic doctrines have often been described by analogy and for this purpose a number of images has been chosen. I will first of all discuss these images.

(i) *The image of boat*—In the Caryās Nos. 13, 14 and 38, attributed respectively to Kānhu, Ḍombi and Saraha, the image of boat and the analogy of rowing have been used to explain some of the doctrines. While commenting on these songs the Sanskrit commentary warns us *naukā sandhyābhāṣayā boddhavyam, naukāpravāha-vyājena* *prakāṣayati, kāyanaukāvyājena pratipādayati* or *kāyam naukām parikalpya*, etc. In No. 13 Kānhu says that he has made a boat of the three refuges (*triśaraṇa*) and has mastered the eight (divine powers). Thus has he crossed the ocean of the world after having counted all the waves in the mid-sea. The five *tathāgatas* are his oars and the *citta* is the helmsman. Thus has he proceeded to the island of Great Bliss. In No. 14 Ḍombipāda says that the boat plies between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and there the old Mātāṅgī takes the yogins to the other bank without effort. Ḍombipāda urges himself to ply the boat with the five oars. He says that the rope should be tied well on the back, water which may enter into the boat through the joints should be thrown out with the help of the *secanī* which is the sky (*gagana*). The Sun and the Moon, the two wheels of creation and destruction, should be converted into parts of the boat. The boat thus taken plies at ease, and the two banks become no longer visible. In No. 38, the song of Saraha, the *kāya* is the boat, the purified mind is the oar and advices of the Guru are the sails. Advice is given that while plying the boat it should be always kept near the Sahaja and as there

are difficulties on the way the boat should always keep near the *Kūla* when going against the strong current. Thus only it can reach the sky (*gagana*).

Kambalāmbharapāda in his Caryā (No. 8) uses again the image of boat. He says—"Kambala has filled his boat of compassion (*karuṇā*) with gold and there is no place for silver in it. He wants to take the boat towards the sky. He has now uprooted the post to which the boat was fixed and takes the boat keeping near the right and left sides. He attains the Great Bliss on the way."

(ii) *The image of rat*—In one of the Songs of Bhusukupāda the image of rat is used (No. 21) and in this case also the commentary says that *mūṣaka sandhyā-vacanena pratipādayati*. The author says: "The night is dark and the play of the rat begins. The rat drinks the nectar. Kill this rat-wind so that the coming and going may be stopped. The rat brings in transmigration and digs holes. The rat which thus brings in calamities has no colour. When it ascends the sky (*gagana*) and drinks the nectar there, it becomes restless. It is then to be pacified with the advice of the Guru. When the play of the rat is thus stopped the ties are broken asunder."

(iii) *The image of the stringed musical instrument, Viṇā*.—In the Caryāpāda No. 17 the Siddha Viṇāpāda uses the analogy of a Viṇā. He says that he has made a new kind of Viṇā of which the sun is the gourd, the moon is the string, and the Avadhūti is the stand (*dāṇḍi*) which produces sound even without being struck. Viṇāpāda says—"Friend, hark the Heruka-viṇā is being played. The notes of the string are being heard. The best of elephants on hearing the sounds, *āli* and *kāli*, now enter the *samarasa*. When the striker presses (the string) the sounds of the 32 strings spread everywhere, the king then dances and the queen sings. This is the Buddha-nāṭaka."

(iv) *The image of elephant*—In the last song we have already found reference to an elephant which is called the best of elephants—*gajavara*. In a large number of the Caryāpadas use is made of the image of the elephant but the most important case where the image has been fully worked out is in the song of Mahīdharapāda, No. 16. The commentary on this song says—*cittagajendra-sandhyayā pratipādayati*. Mahīdharapāda says: "Along the three planks (*pāṭa*) terrible noise, not produced by any agent but spontaneous, is being heard. At this noise both the *māra* and the world are destroyed. The great elephant, the Citta, now runs towards the end of the sky and rubs the sun and

the moon together. After demolishing the posts and breaking the chains which are the merits and the demerits the elephant now runs towards the sound in the sky and enters into the *nirvāṇa*-lake. There he drinks the great wine, *mahārasa*. He is now indifferent towards the three worlds and is the conqueror of the five objects of senses. He has now entered deep (into the sky) and nobody can see him." Kānḥu in some of his songs uses the image of elephant. In Caryā No. 9 he compares himself with the elephant and says—"After having broken the two posts *evam*, and torn asunder the various chains Kānḥu has entered the lotus forest of Sahaja and has become intoxicated by drinking the wine. And now just as the elephant throws rut at the she-elephant the *citta* is pouring the *tathatā* wine." In Caryā No. 12 in connection with another image Kānḥu again uses the image of elephant and says that he has destroyed the five (objects) with the help of the elephant.

(v) *The image of deer*—Bhusukupāda in one of his songs (No. 6), makes use of the image of a deer. The Sanskrit commentary says : *Bhusukupāda hariṇā-śabda sandhyābhāṣayā kathayati*. Bhusuku says—"The hunters have surrounded the forest and their cry is being heard. The deer has become his own enemy for his flesh. The hunters do not leave Bhusuku (the deer) for a moment. The deer now gives up his food and drink. The doe advises the deer to leave the forest and to go (with her). The deer runs away so fast that even his hoofs cannot be seen."

(vi) *The analogy of union*—In some of the Caryāpadas the authors address some female companion and say that marriage with her has led to the attainment of great bliss. Thus in song No. 10 Kānḥupāda addresses a Dombi, a low-caste woman, and the Sanskrit commentary clearly says...*ḍombiśabdah sandhyābhāṣayā kathayati*. Kānḥu says : "Oh Dombi, you live outside the city but how is it that you have now dared to touch the son of a Brāhmaṇa. But oh Dombi, I will live with you because I am only a naked Yogin who uses the skull (for drinking) and is hated by all. The lotus is one but it has 64 petals and the Dombi is now dancing on it. She is now eating the lotus stalk in the lake. I shall now get hold of her and reach the other shore." In song No. 19 Kānḥu describes his marriage with the Dombi, in the following terms : The existence (*bhava*) and *nirvāṇa*, and the mind and the vital air (*manapabana*) are serving as different musical instruments. Kānḥu is going to marry the Dombi. After marrying her he has now stopped further birth, and got the *anuttara* world as the dowry. He is now spending his time in her company surrounded by the Yoginis in great bliss.

Whoever has once lived with the Dombi can never leave her for a moment and is maddened by the Sahaja bliss."

(vii) *The analogy of the fermentation of wine*—Virūvapāda in one of his Caryās (No. 3) introduces the analogy of the fermentation of wine. He says : "The female wine-dealer (*śuṇḍinī*) is alone but she enters both the chambers and introduces the powder (?) for fermenting the wine. The wine now flows straight towards the Sahaja and that brings immortality. On seeing the sign (of the wine) at the tenth door the customer comes of himself and after visiting the 64 stations enters without leaving any sign behind. The pipe of the vessel is narrow and therefore the wine should be sent through it carefully."

(viii) *Analogy of carding the cotton*—In Caryāpada No. 26 Śāntipāda uses the analogy of cotton-carding. He says : "I have carded the cotton to fine threads and again reduced these threads to non-entity, but still I have not been able to get at the Heruka. While carding the cotton I have gone to sky (*śūnya*). The two ways on either sides are no longer seen and nothing enters into the sky. There is no cause and effect. I can be only perceived by my own self."

In the images of the boat the words which serve as the key to the mystic significance are—the boat, the five oars, the helmsman, the way along which the boat sails, the posts to which the boat is fixed before starting, the rope by which it is fixed, and the *ścanī* by which water is thrown out from the boat, and finally the destination of the boat.

The boat stands for *karuṇā*, compassion, which is explained as *bodhicitta* (8), the *triśaraṇa* which is explained in the commentary as "the refuge of the three—" (*kāya, vāk, citta*) or in other words, the *mahāsukhakāya* in which these disappear (13), the *śukranāḍikā* which is located within the middlemost *nāḍī*, viz., *avadhūtikā* (14), and last of all for *kāya* (38) by which evidently *mahāsukhakāya* is again meant.¹

The five oars stand for the five *tathāgatas* (13). The five *tathāgatas* are explained as the purified body (of which the five *tathāgatas* presiding over the five senses are the essence). In one case the *mana* (38) which combines in itself the essence of the five senses in its purified state is

¹ कर्तुमेति सन्ध्याभाषया [sic. सन्ध्याभाषया] तमेव बोधिविचित्रं नावो [com. 8] ; तिष्ठरक्षित्यादि तयं कायवाक्चित्तम् । यस्मिन् चतुर्थे शरणे लीनं गतं तं महासुखकार्यं नौका सन्ध्याभाषया बोधव्यम् [com. 13] ; शुक्रनाडिका विरमानन्दावधूतिकायाः मध्ये वर्तते । सा एव नौः सन्ध्याभाषया बोधव्या [com. 14] ; काष्ठावडि—आधाराधेयसम्बन्धेन कायनौका परिकल्प्य [com. 38].

compared with the oars. Elsewhere (13) this idea has led to the comparison of the *citta* with the helmsman *kaṇadhāra*.¹

The two posts to which the boat is fixed stand for the illusion of the phenomenal world, *ābhāsadoṣaṃ* (8). The rope by which the boat is tied to the post stands for the *bodhicitta* (14) in its *sāṃvṛttika* or impure worldly state and also for *avidyāsūtra*, i.e., tie of illusion (8). The *secanī* by which the water or the impurities that may come in are to be thrown out stands for the *śūnya* or vacuity (14).²

The path along which the boat is to sail is the middlemost one in which both the right and left are combined (8), that is located between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (14), and along this path which is full of dangers the boat has to proceed against the current (38).³

The destination is described as *mahāsukha*—the knowledge of *nairātmā* (8), the *mahāsukhacakradvīpa*, i.e., the island of great bliss situated in the [ocean of] vacuity (13), the *jinapura* explained as the city of great bliss (14) and the *gagana*, i.e., the vacuity (38).⁴

These images imply certain Yogic processes. The principal idea is that the boat is to be safely taken to the island of great bliss along the middle path steering clear away from the two sides. It is fixed to the two posts by means of a rope which should be torn asunder. The island of great bliss is situated in the ocean of vacuity.

The boat is the *bodhicitta* which is the semen virile (*śukra*). It is claimed that by certain Yogic practices it can be carried up to the head. In the ordinary state it remains restless and binds one to the illusory

¹ विग्रहपञ्चतयागतात्मकं स्वदेहं कलिपातं परिकल्प्य...स्नानं च धातुश्च तथेन्द्रियाणि, पञ्चैव पञ्चैव कृतप्रमेदाः । तयागताधिष्ठित एक एक्यः, संसारकर्मणि कृतो भवन्ति ॥ [com. 13]. मनोविज्ञानं कलिपातश्च [com. 38] ; सव्याकारवरोपेतयुन्यतामार्गं चित्तकर्णधारं समारोप्य [com. 13].

² खुष्टिका आभासदीपम् । कष्टिका अविद्यासूत्रश्च [com] ; कष्टिका मणिमूलं गतम्, तदेव बोधिचित्तं सङ्गजानन्देन विधृतं सद वैमल्यचक्रोद्देशेन प्रवाहं कुरु । गगनदुखोलकं चतुर्धाभिपेक्षेण सिध्यमानं योगोन्द्रस्य काये पानोयं विषयोद्धोलनं विवर्ति । [com. 14].

³ वामदक्षिणमाभासद्वयं मध्यमायां प्रवेशयित्वा [com. 8] ; गङ्गायमुनेति सव्यया चन्द्राभाससूर्याभासौ याज्ञयाज्ञकौ [com. 14] ; खानपानविषयासक्तिर्लेन साधको यदा मार्गबद्धो भवति अवधूर्तो गत्वा जहातीति । [com. 38].

⁴ महासुखचक्रसमुद्गोद्देशेन यदा मिलितं तच्चिन् मार्गे महासुखसङ्ग-नैरात्माज्ञानाभिसङ्गं मया प्राप्तमिति । [com. 8] ; महासुखचक्रद्वीपं गताः [com. 13] ; जिनपुरं महासुखपुरं [com. 14] ; गगनेति वैमल्यचक्रद्वीपे [com. 38].

world. In that state it is *sāmṛttika* but when it is carried upwards it loses its restless character and produces a state of great bliss. In this state it is *Pāramārthika*. It then becomes the source of supreme qualities to the Yogin. When the *bodhicitta* proceeds upwards as the result of a sort of revolution within, there is introversion of all the faculties of the senses, and of the vital wind. They then, without becoming the source of distraction to the Yogin and of his bondage to the illusory world, all help him in his march to the higher plane where he enjoys a state of great bliss. Now while this introversion or internal revolution takes place the *bodhicitta* in its upward march follows three principal channels, called the *nāḍīs*. Connexion with the external world still continues and is not completely severed. This connexion totally ceases at a stage where the three meet together to form a single channel only. This is implied by saying that the boat should steer clear of the two paths on the right and left which are full of dangers.¹

The revolution is brought about by meditating on the vacuity (*śūnya-samādhi*) and through further concentration on it the influx of the illusion of the objective world can be stopped. This is why the vacuity has been compared with the *secanī* and it has been said that if any water enters the boat through its leakage it should be thrown out with the help of this *secanī*.

In the image of rat, the rat itself stands for the *cittapabana*—the vital air which is ordinarily restless like the rat. As long as the darkness of night remains the rat moves on and drinks the nectar stealthily. Similarly, as long as the instruction of the Guru is not obtained and the restlessness of the vital air is not stopped it contributes to the loss of the *bodhicitta* but when it becomes quiet there is no more loss, the Sahaja bliss is then attained and the worldly ties are broken.²

¹ The Yogic method by which the *bodhicitta* can be carried upwards is referred to in many places of the present text. Cf. also the quotation from *Sekoddeśa*, a work now lost, in the commentary to the Carya No. 3.

यावन्नी पतति प्रभास्वरमयः शीतांशुधाराद्रवी

दीवीपद्मदलोदरे समरसीभूतो जिनानां गणेः ।

स्फूर्जद [sic. MS. स्फूर्त्] वज्रशिखायतः करुणया भिन्नं जगत्कारणं

गर्जन्तीकरुणायत्नस्य सहजं जानीहि रूपं विभुः ॥

² मूषकः सम्भावचने चित्तपवनः बोद्धव्यः । निशि प्रज्ञा कर्माङ्गना वा बोद्धव्या । तस्याः कर्माङ्गनाया विचितादिचक्षुः काशानन्दादिव्यापारवारेण...बोधिविचितामृतास्वादाहारं स एव मूषकः चित्तपवनः स्वयं करोति । [com. 21].

The same Yogic process which has been explained above is again implied here. The rat is the vital air in its restless state before the revolution takes place. This is why the *bodhicitta* also remains restless in its *sāmvṛtika* state and is subject to loss and decay. This is implied by saying that the rat in the darkness of the night drinks the nectar stealthily. But after the revolution the vital air ascends upwards, gets pacified, helps in pacifying the *bodhicitta* which then attains the *pāramārthika* state and brings about the Sahaja bliss.

In the image of the stringed instrument (*Viṇā*) the words which are important are—the gourd, the strings and the stand (*dāṇḍī*) to which these are fitted. The gourd is the *Sūrya* and the string, the *Candra*. These represent the two *nāḍīs* on both sides and the stand represents the *avadhūtī*, the *nāḍī* in the middle. When the first two are brought together and fixed on to the middle one a music which is not produced by any agent but spontaneous is heard within and this music is resounded in all the *nāḍīs*. When this music is heard by the *gajavara*, the best elephant [which is explained as the *citta*], it proceeds upwards to drink the *samarasa*. When the music continues, the king, *i.e.*, the Yogin dances and the queen, *i.e.*, *Nairātma-yoginī* sings.¹

The image of the stringed musical instrument has close similarity with the analogy of cotton-carding used by *Sāntipāda* in *Caryā* No. 26. The instrument used for carding the cotton is also a stringed instrument consisting of a stand to which the string is fixed. When the string is struck against the cotton, the cotton gradually gets reduced to fine threads. The cotton here stands for the illusory world.²

According to the mechanism of the Yoga already referred to, when the revolution takes place and the faculties of the senses are on their upward move the internal *nāḍīs* are said to receive the currents and vibrate. This vibration becomes gradually more and more intense till at last the objective world disappears from view and the Yogin finds himself established in the vacuity. This is the state that is described by the present image. As the movement of the string continues, the cotton, *i.e.*, the illusory world, gradually gets reduced to non-entity and dualistic

¹ सूर्याभासं तु विनाकारमुत्प्रेत्य चन्द्राभासेन तन्निकाचः । विषयचक्रो अवधूतिकया सह एकीकृत्य अनाहतदण्डिकायां लगावयित्वा...अनाहतं घोषयन्ति । [राजिल] वीणापादा वज्रघरपदेन मृत्युं कुर्वन्ति । तेषां दिवी योगिनी नैरात्मादिकाश्च गीतिकया सङ्गायनमङ्गलं कुर्वन्ति ।

² तुल्येति प्रकृतिदीपत्वात् तुलनयोग्यवैलोक्यं कायवाक्चित्तम् [com. 26].

knowledge is altogether stopped.¹ When the state of vacuity is attained there is no more effect of causality and no more disturbance of the peace. This state is said to be indescribable.

In the image of the stringed musical instrument and instrument for carding cotton we have seen that there is the question of a sound—a sound that is spontaneous and not produced by any agent—which vibrates in the different internal *nāḍīs* and particularly in the three principal ones. In the image of elephant (Caryā No. 16) there is again the question of this sound which is heard along the three planks² or the principal *nāḍīs* (?). The elephant which stands for the *citta* in this case is maddened by this sound and marches at once upwards to the sky, *i.e.*, the vacuity. He rubs the sun and the moon together and demolishes the two posts and breaks the chains which bind him to them. The sun and the moon and the two posts which are explained as merit and demerit stand for the illusion of the material world which has two aspects. We have seen before that as long as the *citta* does not reach the point where the two *nāḍīs*, the left and the right, do not get united with the middle one and form altogether one single channel, the influx of illusion continues. When the *citta* attains that point in its upward march it reaches the vacuity without any hindrance at all, drinks the nectar there and enjoys the great bliss. This has been brought out by saying that the elephant has now reached the end of the sky³ and has become mad after drinking the great wine. It is this sense which has been brought out in the other images of the elephant which has been referred to. When it is said that the *citta* is pouring *tathatā* wine the meaning seems to be that the *citta* in its ultimate state of reality permeates itself with blissfulness.⁴

The image of the deer has more philosophical than mystical significance. The deer in this image stands for the *citta* or *citta-pabana*, the

¹ अद्वयत्वादधिन् मार्गवरे इयाकारं न विद्यते । [com. 26].

² पाटत्रयं कायानन्दादिकं...अनाहतमिति शून्यताशब्दम् ।

³ स एव प्रमत्तो हि चित्तगजेन्द्रसूर्यदिवारातिविकल्पं धूलयित्वा...पापपुण्यौ संसारपाशौ शी खण्डयित्वा...अविद्याकल्मषं मर्दयित्वा...निर्वाणसुरीवरं गतः ।...चित्तगजेन्द्रः गगनाङ्गनं महासुखचक्रसुरीवरं गत्वा मिलितः । [com. 16].

एकारयन्द्वाभासं रंकारः सूर्यः उभयं दिवारातिज्ञानं वास्वीडस्तम्भद्वयं मर्दयित्वा...नलिनीवनं महासुख-कमलं कृत्वा निर्विकल्पाकारे क्रीडन्तीति । [com. 9].

* यथा बाणकरी करिण्यमोर्ध्वमर्दं वहति । तद्वद्गवतीनैरात्मासङ्गतया चित्तगजेन्द्रकृष्णाचार्यपादाः तद्यतामर्दं प्रवर्षन्ति । [com. 9].

vital air. The vital air is ordinarily restless like the deer and as long as it remains restless it is associated with the material world and is subject to all the miseries of the world. This is why it has been said that the deer is surrounded by the hunters on all sides and is his own enemy for his flesh. This flesh, *i.e.*, his association with the material world, stands in the way of his translation to the higher sphere.¹ At this stage the doe comes in and advises the deer to leave the forest surrounded by the hunters and to go over to another where no such troubles exist. The doe is the *Jñānamudrā* or the *Nairātmā*² and the other forest is the forest of the lotus—the great bliss. This last only has Yogic implications and suggests that there is the question of the march of the Śakti upwards to the topmost Cakra, the Cakra of great bliss.

In the analogies of union a *Ḍombi* plays the most important part and that serves as the key to the inner meaning of the image. She lives outside the city, dances on the lotus with 64 petals and eats up the lotus stalk. When the Yogin proceeds to marry her the *bhava*, existence and *nirvāṇa* and the mind and the vital air all act in concert as musical instruments. *Ḍombi* is explained as the *Nairātmā*³ or the *avadhūti*, purified. *Avadhūti* is the middle *nāḍī*, and as soon as it is purified through the removal of the influx of illusion the Śakti which is characterised as *Nairātmā* in these texts ascends upwards, reaches the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located. When it is said that the *Ḍombi* eats up the root of the lotus the implication seems to be that the way by which further influx of illusion upwards may be possible is destroyed.

The analogy of the fermentation of wine leads to an image of a different kind. Though this image is not quite clear in all its details the central idea is suggested by the two words—*śuṇḍinī* and *vāruṇī*, *i.e.*, the female wine-dealer and the wine. The *śuṇḍinī* stands for the *avadhūtikā* which we have seen is no other than the *nairātmā* or the Śakti that marches upwards. The *vāruṇī*—the wine, stands for the *sāmvṛttika bodhicitta* or the semen virile. I have already said that according to a particular belief of the Yogins when the Śakti marches upwards through

¹ स्वयं कृताविद्यामातृसर्वदोषेण आबल्यतया पुनः स एव चित्तहरिणं सर्वेषां बहवेरी ।

² हरिणीति । सन्यामाषया सैव ज्ञानमुद्रा नैरात्मा । भावकस्याभ्यासप्रकर्षवशात् 'आत्मास' [ददाति] भो चित्तहरिण यस्य कायवनस्य काययज्ञं यन्महासुखकमलवर्नं गत्वा...[com. 6].

³ डोम्बीति परिग्रहावधूती नैरात्मा बोद्धव्या । [com. 10] नगरिकेति । रूपादिविषयसमूहं तस्य वाद्ये । इन्द्रियाणामगोचरत्वेन...तवागारं महासुखचक्रम् । सद्योक्तं निर्माणचक्रम् चतुःषष्टिदलयुक्तं तत् स्थित्वा भगवत्या नैरात्मया सह एकरसतया महारागानन्दसुन्दरी हि कृष्णाचार्यो नृत्यति ।

the different *nāḍīs* the *śukra* or the *sāmvr̥ttika bodhicitta* also proceeds upwards to the head. The aim of the Yogin is to see that it proceeds quietly through the middle *nāḍī* and gets accumulated in the Vajramanī in the head and loses its restless character.¹ The *bodhicitta* then attains the *pāramārthika* state and becomes conducive to the attainment of supreme bliss. This process is implied in the present image. When it is said that though the *śuṇḍinī* is alone she enters both the chambers the implication is that she brings the two, the sun and the moon together and sends them through the middle one.² The wine, i.e., the *śukra*, at this stage is made to enter it and goes upwards to produce the Sahaja bliss. The customer³ who comes of himself on seeing the signs of wine seems to be the *citta* who now enters (the vacuity) without leaving any sign behind and drinks the nectar from the lotus of great bliss.

In most of the Caryās therefore the *bodhicitta* and its cultivation for higher purposes take the most important place. The *bodhicitta* alone is the source of compassion (*karuṇā*) which is so important in the Mahāyāna, it can render supreme bliss to the initiated and enables him to free himself from the grasp of the illusory world. The *bodhicitta* in its exoteric aspect is equally important in the earlier Mahāyāna. It has been interpreted there by the scholars as "the resolution to attain *bodhi*." In the early Mahāyāna practices also, "this resolution to attain Bodhi" enables the initiated to proceed in his spiritual exercises and to be the master of compassion and save every being of the world from misery by leading him to *bodhi* (cf. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 302).

But in early Mahāyāna the esoteric aspect of the *bodhicitta* (i.e., the *bodhicitta* in the sense of *śukra*) seems to have already developed. In my note on the word *Parāvṛtti* (see *infra*) I have emphasised on the

१.२ वज्रमणिशिखरयसिरे .. वारुणीति । सुखप्रमोदत्वात् बोधिचित्तं वन्धयति । सर्व पूर्वोक्ता-
वधूतिका संवृत्तिपरमायंसंयदयं घटतीति कृत्वा...तया शुक्रनाडिकया गुरोरुपदेशात् तमपतितं बोधिचित्तं
स्थेय्यं कृत्वा निस्तरङ्गरूपेण चालय—

परमायंबोधिचित्तं हृदीकुर्वन्नाह—सहजेति । वज्रप्रसादात् विरमानन्देन सहजानन्दं स्थिरीकृत्य...
वारुणीति सन्भावचनेन तदेव संवृत्तिबोधिचित्तं बोद्धव्यम् । तस्य बोधिचित्तस्य स्वाधिष्ठानगतस्वाचरसुखपाशेन
बन्धनं कृत्वा...

३ एकदा षट्पञ्चयोगात् सा अवधूतिका शुण्डिनी ऊर्ध्वनासा घण्टिकारन्ध्रे चन्द्रसूर्यौ वामदक्षिणी...
हौ सन्धयति मध्यमायां प्रविशयति ।

* गन्धसत्त्वी हि स्वयमेवागत्य तेन शरीरेण प्रविश्य महासुखकमलरसपानेन सूचितं प्रीणनं करोति ।

implications of the word in its connection with *maithuna*—sexual act. If my interpretation of the word is accepted then we should admit that already when the *Śūtrālaṅkāra* was composed by Asaṅga the Buddhists believed in a Yogic practice by which it was possible to turn the flow of the semen virile inwards and to produce a state of supreme blissfulness caused by this inflow. In a passage of the *Sikṣūsamuccaya* of *Sāntideva*, *Bodhicitta* is exactly used in a similar sense :

bodhicittakalalah kṛpārbuda maitrapeśiracalāśaye ghanah |

bodhi-aṅgamanupūrtasambhavo Buddhagarbha ayaṁ sampravardhate ||

(*Sikṣā.*, V, p. 103.),

“The *bodhicitta* is the germ, the second stage of growth is compassion the third is *maitrī* or brotherly love which is firm and solid, and then the elements of the *bodhi* grow stage by stage till the Buddha-embryo is fully developed.”

A NOTE ON THE WORD PARĀVṚTTI

The word *parāvṛtti* occurs in several verses of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga in connection with acts which constitute the supreme greatness of Buddha (*vibhūtvam buddham*). These acts are *pañcendriyaparāvṛtti*, i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the five senses; *manaso'pi*°—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the mind, *sārdhodgraha*°—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of receiving the objects of senses, *vikalpa*°—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the act of differentiation; *pratiṣṭhāyāḥ*°—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of the place of existence (?) and lastly *maithunasya*°—i.e., *parāvṛtti* of sexual act. The verses are—

मनोवृत्तिर्मेदेन विभुत्वमेदं दर्शयति—

पञ्चेन्द्रियपरावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 सर्वार्थवृत्तौ सर्वेषां गुणहादयतोदरे ॥४१॥
 मनसोऽपि परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 विभुत्वानुचरे ज्ञाने निर्विकल्पे सुनिर्मले ॥४२॥
 सार्थोद्ग्रहपरावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 स्वेवगृह्यौ यथाकामं भोगसंदर्शनाय हि ॥४३॥
 विकल्पस्य परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 अव्याघाते सदाकालं सर्वेषां ज्ञानकर्म्मणाम् ॥४४॥
 प्रतिष्ठायाः परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 अप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाणं बुद्धानामचले पदे ॥४५॥
 मैथुनस्य परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम् ।
 बुद्धसौख्यविहारिण्य दाराऽसंक्लेशदर्शने ॥४६॥

Prof. S. Lévi while translating the word as “révolution” suggested that “*parāvṛtti* of sexual act” alludes without doubt to “the mystic couples of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which have so much importance in Tantrism” Translation of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 81, note). If this interpretation is accepted then we have to admit that Tantrik ideas were already prevalent in Mahāyāna Buddhism in the time of Asaṅga (4th-5th centuries A.D.).

Dr. Winternitz in his *Notes on the Guhya-Samāja Tantra and the Age of Tantras* (I. H. Q. IX. 1) has recently questioned the interpretation of Prof. Lévi and translated the word *parāvṛtti* as “turning aside, discard.” The last two verses of the series (Nos. 45 and 46) have been rendered by him as follows :

“In the turning-aside of the basis of Reality supreme greatness is obtained, (namely) the ‘Nirvāṇa without basis’ in the immovable seat of the Buddhas.

“In the turning-aside of sexual union supreme greatness is obtained, (namely) in the enjoyment (or pleasure-ground) of Buddha-happiness and in looking without impure thoughts at a wife.”

The meaning of the term *parāvṛtti* however does not appear to be so plain. The verses of the *Sūtrālamkāra*, already quoted, are introduced by Asaṅga with the note: *manovṛtti-bhedena vibhūta-bhedaṁ darśayati*—“different kinds of supreme greatness are being explained with reference to the various functions (*vṛtti*) of the mind.” The word *vṛtti* has the implication of a forward circular motion whereas *āvṛtti* means a complete revolution (like the revolution of a wheel); the prefix *parā* means “back, in an inverted order.” The word *parāvṛtti* therefore literally means—“turning (the functions of the mind) round to an opposite point.” So it does not mean even literally, as Dr. Winternitz thinks, ‘turning aside’ those functions but their transformation for a higher purpose. This really amounts to a mental revolution. A large number of passages from different texts confirms this interpretation.

The word, first of all, occurs several times in the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (*Trīṃśikā*) of Vasubandhu and also in its commentary by Sthiramati:

यदा त्वालम्बनं ज्ञानं नेवोपलभते तदा ।
स्थितं विज्ञानमात्रेण याच्नान्मात्रं तदयच्छात् ॥
अचित्तोऽनुपलभोऽसौ ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं च तत् ।
आश्रयस्य परावृत्तिर्दिष्टा दौर्दुल्यहानितः ॥

[*Trīṃśikā*, *kār.*, 28-29.]

When the knowledge does no more perceive the object it makes its stay in *vijñāna* only (*vijñāna-mātra*). There is [then] no more receiving for the absence of objects to be received (28).

This knowledge is mindless, perception-less and supra-mundane. There is then the *parāvṛtti* of the recipient—*āśrayasya parāvṛtti* through elimination of two kinds of troubles (29).

Sthiramati while commenting on the verse says :

What is *āśrayaparāvṛtti*? *Āśraya* or the recipient is the *ālaya-vijñāna* which contains all the germs. That which is its *parāvṛtti* is produced when there is no more impregnation either of troubles or of duality and on account of their stoppage there is pliability. This *parāvṛtti* is attained

through the elimination of two kinds of troubles—*kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa*.

आश्रयस्य परावृत्तिरिति । आश्रयोऽयं सर्व्वबीजकमालयविज्ञानम् । तस्य परावृत्तिर् या दीदृश्य-
विपाकद्वयवासनाभावेन निवृत्तौ सत्यां कर्मेष्ट्यता धर्मकायाद्वयज्ञानभावेन परावृत्तिः । सा पुनराश्रय-
परावृत्तिः कस्य प्रहाणान् प्राप्यते । अत आह । द्विधा दीदृश्यहानितः द्विवेति क्लेशावरणदीदृश्यं ज्ञेयावरण-
दीदृश्यम् ॥

Parāvṛtti in this case, implies *praśrabdhi*, i.e., relaxation or lightness of the mind. It is one of the *bodhyaṅgas* or an integral condition of the *bodhi*. Sthiramati explains this word thus: “*praśrabdhi* is the opposite of *dauṣṭhulya*. It is the pliability of the body and mind while *dauṣṭhulya* is the want of this pliability and is hence the germ of all passion. The pliability of the body is that which enables the body to do its proper functions with ease. The pliability of the mind is that which enables the mind to act on its object with freshness and lightness. As to the body its *praśrabdhi* is attained when a particular tangible is brought to it through satisfaction. So says the Sūtra: “when the mind is pleased the body relaxes (प्रश्रम्यते). Its proper function is to extirpate radically the obstruction of passion (*kleśāvaraṇa*) so that through it the *parāvṛtti* of the recipient (*āśraya*) takes place.”

The word *parāvṛtti* occurs in many places of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* but the most important references to it occur in the last (समाप्तकम्) of the text. The Bodhisattvas are first of all described as experts in *parāvṛtti* or परावृत्तिकुशलाः (p. 10), and it is further said that they attain the body of Tathāgata (*Tathāgata-kāya*) through *parāvṛtti* (p. 43). *Tathatā* or the state of ultimate reality is defined as that which is attained through *parāvṛtti* of the nature of desires, mental disturbances (*dauṣṭhulya*), mind and mental and non-mental knowledge (p. 108)—आर्याणां चित्तमनोविज्ञान-
दीदृश्यवासनास्रभावधर्मपरावृत्ति (sic. इति) भावान् भानि (?) आर्याणां तथनेत्युच्यते. *Tathatā* is once equated with *parāvṛtti* (परावृत्तस्तु तथता, p. 274, verse 77 and also p. 151, परावृत्ता हि तथता—). *Parāvṛtti* of the *viññāna*, the seat of all desires and knowledge, is called *nirvāṇa* (p. 93)—सर्व्वविज्ञानस्य भाववासनालयमनोमनोविज्ञान-
दृष्टिवासनापरावृत्तिर्निर्वाणमित्युच्यते. When the mind is *parāvṛtti* no function of the senses remains to the *Yogin* (p. 33!) and when the *parāvṛtti* of the recipient¹ (*āśraya*) takes place there is no origination (p. 338). *Parāvṛtti* is the state of detachment in which there is no knowledge of contradiction (p. 345—अप्रवृत्तिविकल्पस्य परावृत्तिनिराश्रयः).

1 *Āśraya*, we have seen, is explained by Sthiramati as सर्व्वबीजकमालयविज्ञानम् ।

There are several other passages in the *Laṅkāvatāra* which help us in determining the sense of the word with great precision.¹ It is said that when the Bodhisattvas arrive at the 8th *bhūmi* they attain the *manomaya-kāya* through the *parāvṛtti* of the two ways; on page 266 (verses 17-20) it is further said that when the mind is *parāvṛtta* it always stays in the space which has the colour of a lotus, and which is beyond the reach of the illusory world. When the mind is established there, the thoughts attain the state of *anābhogacari*. The mind then performs the acts of the common beings like the diamond in which the whole world is reflected (*i.e.*, the mind remains unstained like the diamond inspite of the reflections). In that state there is no phenomenon either *saṁskṛta* or *asaṁskṛta*, and there is no knowledge of duality. The individuality loses its nature (*naiḥsvābhāvyam*).

From this it is evident that *parāvṛtti* is an affair of the 8th of the ten *bhūmis*. It is a state in which the mind stays permanently (तिष्ठति शान्तम्) and attains *anābhogacari* condition (अनाभोगचरिं गतः). In fact the 8th *bhūmi* is called *Anābhoga* or *Acatā*. The relative position of the ten *bhūmis* is indicated in the following verses of the *Laṅkāvatāra* (pp. 278, 106, *cf.* also p. 215).

चित्तं हि भूमयः सप्त निराभासा च अष्टमी ।

द्वी भूमयो विहाराश्च शेषभूमिर्मेमात्मिका ॥

“The *citta* consists of the first 7 *bhūmis*, the 8th is devoid of illusion, and the two *bhūmis* (9th and 10th) are places of enjoyment (*—vihāra*). The last is a positive state.”

1. *Cf.* also *vyāvṛtti*. In the *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 315, verses 392ff.; also p. 325, verse 483ff.—*Vyāvṛttiḥ sarvadṛṣṭinām*. *Vyāvṛtti* is used in the *Sutrālaṅkāra* as a synonym of *Parāvṛtti* in verse 47 (ix)—*ākāśasaṁjñāvyāvṛtton*. In the Chinese translation of the *Sutrā*, *parāvṛtti* is rendered by *chuan* which means ‘revolution or turning round’; *chuan* is particularly used to mean the revolution or turning of the wheel. *Nivṛtti* means suppression or destruction and hence has only a negative character whereas *parāvṛtti* or *vyāvṛtti* has a positive character; *parāvṛtti* implies exteriorisation and *parāvṛtti* seems to imply the opposite process. Compare with this the significance of *param* in *param vairāgyam* (*Yogasūtra* I, 16) and *parārtham* (*ibid.*, IV, 23). In both the cases *param* appertains to *Puruṣa*. The *Prakṛti* has two movements, outward and inward, and when its inward movement reaches completion *mokṣa* is attained. Bhojādeva in his comment on *Yogasūtra* IV, 22 says:—

अनुलोमप्रतिलोमलक्षणपरिणामद्वये सहजं शक्तिद्वयमस्तु... बहिर्मुखतयाऽनुलोमः परिणामः ।

पुनस्कारणानुप्रवेशद्वारिणाक्षितान्तः परिणामः प्रतिलोमः ॥

This, I think, throws a flood of light on the meaning of the verses 45, 46, 47 and 48 of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* already referred to. *Buddhānām acalā pade* of verse 45, *Buddhasāukhya-vihāra* of verse 46 and *ākāśasaṃjñā vyāvṛtti* (which makes one *gagana-garbha* according to Asaṅga) of the verse 47 refer to the last three stages in the march towards final beatitude. *Acalā pade* seems to refer to the 8th *bhūmi* called *Acalā* or *Nirābhogā* whereas the 9th and the 10th which are generally called *viḥāra* in the *Laṅkāvatāra* are implied in the other two expressions. The 9th *bhūmi* called *Sādhumatī* is the place from which the Bodhisattva exercises *mahākarmṇā* for all beings and this is probably the reason why it has been called a stage from which the friendship or love of Buddha is exercised (—*Buddha saukhyaviḥāra*). The 10th *bhūmi* called *dharma-megha* in which the Bodhisattva attains *acintyaṃ ca nāma mokṣaṃ* being seated in the pure *dharmamegha* appear to be implied in *ākāśasaṃjñāvyāvṛtti* and *acintyakṛtyānuṣṭhānād-buddhārāmamalāśraya*.

I do not mean that such well defined stages of spiritual progress as are found in the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* are implied in the above three verses of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*. But the three stages in some form or other were known to Asaṅga (cf. *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, XX-XXI, 37-38) and called by him *Acalā*, *Sādhumatī* and *Dharmameghā*, although the characteristics of these three are there mixed up together. This seems to be due to the fact that the last three *bhūmis* by their peculiar elevation form a category different from the first seven *bhūmis* as it is distinctly said that from the 8th *bhūmi* one becomes a member of the Buddha family, possesses the Buddha *gotra* and is constantly attended by all gods and Vajrapāṇi. It seems that there was no fall from any of the last three *bhūmis* where as that was possible from any of the first seven *bhūmis*.

Now *parāvṛtti* is spoken of in connection with the last three *bhūmis*—stages in which Buddhahood has been already attained. In these stages no question of *discarding* different functions of the senses, mind, *vikalpa* and sexual act (*maithuna*), etc., arises because that is the affair of earlier stages in the spiritual march. In the last the stages the Bodhisattva is far above the world and its turmoils. Therefore *parāvṛtti* must have a different significance.

In the previous discussions we have seen that *parāvṛtti* involves *praśrabdhi* or elimination of the two categories of obstruction both of the passions and objects of senses, and is equated with *nirvāṇa* and *tathatā*. It is *niḥsvabhāvatā*, *nirābhāsatvam*, *anutpāda*, etc. It is not therefore complete negation as *nirvāṇa* and *tathatā* do not consist in

annihilation, it has neither any positive nor negative aspect—it is above that (*Laṅkā.*, p. 98, शब्दतोच्चेदविकल्पभावविवर्जितम्).

So it has been defined as a state of blissfulness. Therefore I think *parāvṛtti* of *maithuna* (verse 46) does not mean 'turning aside' or 'abnegation of the sexual act' but enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from that act. This analogy has been used in Indian philosophical texts beginning with the Upanisads.

The significance of this mystic union and the consequent enjoyment of a blissful union is given in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* itself (XX-XXI, verses, 37 and 38) in connection with the two *bhūmis*, *Acalā* (the 8th) and the *Dharmameghā* (the 10th). The 8th *bhūmi* is called *Acalā*, "un-moved" because it is "unmoved by the connotation of the two" (इय संज्ञाविवचनात्). The last *bhūmi* is called *Dharmameghā* because it is "filled up by the two as the space is filled up by the clouds" (इयव्याप्तेर्धर्माकाशस्य मेघवत्). The connotation of the two are explained by Asaṅga as *nimittasaṃjñā* and *animittasaṃjñā* and "the filling up by the two" as the filling up by the *samādhimukha* and the *dhāraṇāmukha*. In these stages therefore "the coming together" or "unity of two categories" is implied and this union might have been described as *maithunasya parāvṛtti*. Such union is implied in the terms *Yoga*, and *Samādhi*. The *nimitta-saṃjñā* and *animitta-saṃjñā* of Asaṅga may be compared with the *kāryacitta* and *kāraṇacitta* of the Yoga philosophy. The *kāraṇacitta* is *vibhu* and the most important aim of the Yogin is to turn back the *citta* to its original state of all-pervading *kāraṇacitta*.

Additional Note.—My note was published in October, 1933. Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy discussed the word independently at about the same time. Cf. his "*A New Approach to the Vedas*," p. 93, note 73, where he explains *parāvṛtti* as transformation, regeneration, analogy, reversal, etc. Cf. also his article in *Festschrift Ernst Winternitz*.

Appendix

DETAILED NOTICES ON MANUSCRIPTS

I. *Niśvāsa-tattva-Saṁhitā*.

I have drawn attention to the importance of this MS. previously (*supra*, pp. 3ff.). It is a palm leaf MS. preserved in the Darbar Library and was first briefly noticed by H. P. Shastri (*Darbar Library Catalogue*, p. 137). The MS. consists of 114 leaves and its writing is late Gupta of the 8th century. The importance of the text lies in the fact that it mentions a large number of Tantrik texts which existed at the time of its compilation.

The text consists of five *sūtras* and though they form a complete whole, each of them may be taken independently of others. The five *sūtras* are—(i) *Laukika-dharma*; (ii) *Mūla-sūtra*; (iii) *Uttara-sūtra*; (iv) *Naya-sūtra*; (v) *Guhya-sūtra*. The last is more extensive than the four others taken together. According to a verse occurring on fol. 22b the section of *Laukika-dharma* is left out and the next four sections are said to form the main body of the text (cf. *supra*, p. 4).

On fol. 41b there is a definition of *sūtra*—

सूचना सूत्रमित्याह सूत्रं नाम पदं परं ।
तेन सर्वं इदं व्याप्तं सूत्रे मन्त्रिगणा इव ॥

On fol. 41b it is said that the text is called a *saṁhitā* because five texts have been put together. They represent five currents of literary traditions communicated by the mouth and hence they are called *Niśvāsa* (probably because vital wind passes through the mouth)—

मूलस्रोतरसूत्रं नयसूत्रमेव च ।
शुद्धसूत्रचतुर्वेणु प्रोच्यमानं निबोध मे ॥
तेनैव सहसंयुक्ता संहितैका प्रपठ्यते ।
निश्चासिति नामेन सम्पूर्णानु ततो भवेत् ॥
निश्चाससंहिता शेषा मुखेन सहसंयुक्ता ।
पञ्चस्रोतान्नु ये प्रोक्ता मुखेन परिकीर्तिताः ॥

In the first section (*mūlasūtra*)—the Devi says that she has learnt the doctrines of the Vedānta and the 25 Sāṁkhya (वेदान्तं विदितत्वं च सांख्यं ?

पञ्चविंशतः) and now desires to learn the *Sivatattva*. The first chapter deals with the initiation and the initiated (दीक्षा and दीक्षित); the second chapter with sacrifice (अग्निकार्यम्) and the mode of worshipping Śiva (शिवार्चनविधि:); the third chapter with मुक्तिमण्डलम्; the fourth with मुक्तिदीक्षा and the fifth with the nature of the *mantras*. The subject-matter of the last three chapters is not well arranged.

In the second section (*uttara-sūtra*) there are five chapters, the first two dealing with शिवालयास्थापन, मातृका and होम; the third and the fourth with अभिषेक and दीक्षा and the fifth with ज्ञानयोग.

A number of holy places and rivers is mentioned on fol. 9b and 42 :

[96a] दानधर्मस्तया प्लुतास्तोयधर्मश्च मे वद ।

स्नाने पुण्यफलं यस्मान्.....भविष्यति ॥

ईश्वर उवाच—गङ्गा सरस्वती पुष्पा यमुना गोमती तथा ।

चर्मि चन्द्रभागा च सरयुर्गण्डकी तथा ॥

जा...का च शतद्रु च कालिका सुप्रभा तथा ।

विहस्ती च विपागा च नर्मदा चन्द्र...पु... ॥

गोदावरी महावर्ता सङ्करावर्तं मज्जारी ।

कावेरी कौशिकी चैव तृतीया च महानदी ॥

विटङ्क प्रतिकूला च सोमानन्दा च विस्तृता ।

करतोया वेतवती रेणुका वेणुका च या ॥

आत्रेयगङ्गा वैतरणी कर्मारी ह्लादनी तथा ।

श्रवनी च सवर्णा सा कल्याणसिनी... ॥

वसिष्ठा च...पारा च सिन्धु वेत्यारुणी तथा ।

ताप्ता चैवं विसम्भ्या च मन्दाकिन्यः पराञ्चुताः ॥

तैलकोशी च पारा च दुन्दुभि नलिनी तथा ।

नीलगङ्गा च गोधा च पूर्णाचन्द्रा शशिप्रभा ॥

उपवासरतला मुख्याया..... ।

The names of sacred rivers are :—Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, Gomatī, Carmī, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Gaṇḍakī, ?, Śatadru, Kālikā, Suprabhā, Vitastī, Vipāsā, Narmadā, ?, Godāvarī, Śarkarāvarta, Majvārī (?), Kāverī, Kauśikī, Viṭaṅka, Somānandā, Karatoyā, Vetravatī, Reṇukā, Veṇukā, Ātreya-Gaṅgā, Vaitaraṇī, Karmārī, Hlādani, Plāvaṇī, Savarṇā, Kalmāṣā?, Vasiṣṭhā, Sindhu, Āruṇī, Tāmṛā, Trisandhyā, Mandākinī, Tailakośī, Pārā, Dundubhi, Nalinī, Nilagaṅgā, Godhā, Puraścandrā.

In the same chapter five kinds of *lingas* are spoken of—लोहं मणिमयं वाऽपि सन्मयं जेलजा [रीर्य ?]

[42a] सिद्धिचेवाणि वल्यानि यच्च सिद्धिः प्रतिष्ठिता ।
 श्रीरेलच्च महेन्द्रच्च पारियाव..... ॥
 मलय सहा..... गोमती ।
 नर्मदा चन्द्रभागा च विपासा चर्मिला गया ॥
 गङ्गाद्वारं प्रयागञ्च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमम् ।
 पुष्करं करवीरञ्च अट्टहासाविमुक्तकम् ॥
 सीमेश्वरं महाकालं नैमिषामरकण्टकं ।
 कालञ्जरन्तयेकासं गुह्याद्याय... नि च ॥
 पुण्या नद्यानि सर्वानि..... ।
 सिद्धिचेवाणि पुण्याणि यव देवः स्वयं स्थितः ॥

The holy places are—Śrīśāila, Mahendra, Pāriyātra, Malaya, Sahya, Gomatī, Narmadā, Candrabhāgā, Vipāsā, Carmmilā, Gayā, Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga, Gaṅgāsāgara, Puṣkara, Karavīra, Aṭṭahāsa, Avimuktaka, Someśvara, Mahākāla, Naimiṣā, Amarakaṇṭaka, Kālāñjara and Ekāmra.

On fol. 24a-24b there is a description of the Śivatantras, which we have partly utilised (*ante*, pp. 4-5) :—

शिवतन्त्रस्य चोत्पत्तिं कीर्त्तयिष्यामि निबोध मे ।
 अष्टविंशतिं शान्ते शिवे परमकारणे ॥
 नामरूपं विनिष्कृत्वा शस्त्रं परमदुर्लभम् ।
 सदाशिवस्तु वेत्ता वै स च साम्प्रतिवेधकः ॥
 नादरूपस्य शास्त्रस्य अहं [तन्त्र]निबन्धकः ।
 अनुष्टुप्छन्दबन्धेन देवेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम् ॥
 ऋषिभिश्च पुनर्याहं तेभ्यो मर्त्येषु सन्ततिः ।
 कामिकं योगदं दिव्यं कारणमजितन्त्रया ॥
 दीप्तं सूत्रं च साहस्रं अक्षमांशुप्रभेदि च ।
 अनन्तं शिवशास्त्रञ्च दशधा परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥
 पुनर्याहादशेभ्यः रुद्रेण परिकीर्त्तितम् ।
 विज्ञयं प्रथमं ह्येषां का निश्चासं तदनन्तरम् ॥
 स्थायम्भुवमतयेव बाहुलं तदनन्तरम् ।
 वीरभद्रमिति ख्यातं रीरवं माकुटस्तथा ॥
 विरसं चन्द्रहासञ्च शानञ्च सुखविम्बकम् ।
 प्रीङ्गीतं ललितञ्चैव सिद्धसन्तानमेव च ॥

सर्वोद्गीतं च विज्ञेयं किरणं पारमेश्वरम् ।
 पारमेश्वरतन्त्रोऽयं ऋषिदेवेषु कौर्त्तितम् ॥
 षट्त्रिंशति तन्त्राणि प्रसिद्धानि सङ्ख्यया ।
 यो...परतरो भेदो शिवतन्त्रेषु पश्यते ॥
 संयुक्तः स तु विज्ञेयो ऋषिदेवगणां गिराः ।
 येन येन श्रुतं तन्त्रं येन येनावधारितम् ॥
 तस्य तस्य हि नागेन तत् तन्त्रं परीक्ष्यते ।
 शिवं सदाशिवश्चैव विद्येयाय उमा-पति ? ॥
 ...गणमुख्यो विज्ञेयो कालिरेव च ।
 ब्रह्मा विष्णुस्तथा वज्रिर्वायुः सूर्यचन्द्रमाः ॥
 धर्मोद्गीतौ वरुणश्चैव यक्षरक्षमहोरगाः ।
 मातृभिर्गुणैश्चैव गरुडेन च धीमता ॥
 कोटिश्रयाण्यधीतानि लघायुतशतानि च ।
 शुक्रश्चैव दधौषिच दय्या..... ॥
सुसुन्दनः ।
 ...वैद्विरातश्च येतोरामश्च वादिकः ।
 मरीचिरोपमन्वश्च मार्कण्डेयःशक्तिकाग्रपः ।
 तन्त्रस्य पारगा ह्येते शतशोऽयं सङ्ख्यया ॥

II. *Sammoha Tantra.*

It is preserved in a late Newari MS. preserved in the Darbar Library ; it consists of 67 pages, divided into 10 *paṭalas*. Cf. Shastri, *Darbar Library Catalogue* II, p. 183 ; the compiler of the catalogue has mentioned the name of the work as *Sammohana-Tantra* ; both *Sammoha* and *Sammohana* occur as the title of the text. The text is interesting particularly because it enumerates various traditions of Tantrik culture. Besides in the 5th chapter, called *Akṣobhya-tārā-saṁvāda*, there is a curious story about the origin of Nīlasarasvatī.

In the first chapter (*paṭala* I) it is said that there are nine traditions of *mantras* according to the *Kalikāmata* ;—these are *Saṁkarṣaṇī*, *Siddhakālī*, *Kubjikā*, *Sundarī*, *Mahākṣhila-deveśī*, *Śrīmat-siddhakarālīkā*, *Pratyāṅgirā*, *Śeṣikā* and *Śeṣamantra*. Hence *Guhyakālī* has nine faces. The *Śāmbhavas* (i.e., those who practise the *śāmbhavī-vidyā*) are of twenty kinds according to the division of holy places, literary traditions, and script and language used.

- [5b] सङ्घर्षणी सिद्धकाली कुलिका सुन्दरी तथा ।
 श्रीमहाखिलदेवेशी श्रीमत्सिद्धकरालिका ।
 प्रत्यङ्गिरा शेषिका च शेषमन्त्रोऽपि पार्वति ॥
 नवास्त्रायादिमन्त्राय विज्ञेया कालिकामती ।
 नववक्त्रं महेयानि गुह्यकाल्यां महेश्वरि ॥...
 अद्वैतभावसम्पन्ना श्रीमहा गुह्यकालिका ।
 पीठवाणोपमेदेन शान्भवानां च विंशति ।
 लिपिभाषावमेदेन शान्भवानां च विंशति ॥

In the third chapter various kinds of *pīṭhas* are enumerated, *viz.*, *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Śakti-pīṭha*, *Śaiva-pīṭha*, *Gaṇeśa-pīṭha*, *Cāndra°*, *Svāyambhuva°*, *Cīna°*, *Bauddha°* and *Vaidika*. The word *pīṭha* in this case as well as in the following cases is used to mean “ways of Tantrik practice.” Other kinds of *pīṭhas* are :—

- [6b] जयाप्रथे जयापीठं ताराविद्याविधौ स्मृतम् ।
 काल्याः पीठवयं देवि गुह्यकाल्यां निशाकरः ॥
 सुन्दर्यां दे विधा पीठं तारायां द्विविधं भवेत् ।
 किन्नायामेकरूपं तु भुवनायामपि प्रिये ॥
 धूमायामपि तथा मातङ्गां द्विविधं भवेत् ।
 सिद्धविद्याविधौ देवि द्विविधं भैरवीमती ॥
 सुन्दरो पीठमाख्यातं धूमायामेकमेव च ।
 कमलायां द्वयं पीठं शैवे त्रिविधमेव च ॥
 चतुर्विधं वैष्णवे स्यात् सौरि द्विविधम् ईरितम् ।
 गाणपे पञ्चधा पीठमन्त्रोऽपि पीठविक्रमम् ॥
 देवपीठं च वटुके स्वर्णेशे भैरवे ।
 बड़वानले वीरभदे चानामादि [?] कीर्तितम् ॥
 स्वायम्भुवे छिन्गुलाजि पीठं शक्तिमयं मतम् ।
 [7a] कादो षट्पञ्चाशद देशाय हादावपि तथा प्रिये ।
 तद्देशशक्तिमयोगस्तद्रान्यमिति कीर्तितम् ॥
 तत्संगमजपेनैव तद्देशराज्यमाक्रयात् ।
 तवादी कादिदेशश्च कथ्यते परमेश्वरि ॥
 अङ्गवङ्गौ कलिङ्गश्च कालिङ्गकिरलस्तथा ।
 काश्मीरकामरूपश्च महाराष्ट्रोऽय एव च ॥
 सीराष्ट्रो द्राविडयैव तेलिङ्गमलयाद्रकी ।
 कर्णाटावन्यदेदभं-सर्पाभीरु-समालया ॥

चीलयां चालकांबोज ऐराद्रपाभ्यां (?) विदेहभू ।
 वाङ्मोकय किरातय कौकटावन्यकौ तथा ॥
 ऐराकभोटान्तचीनमहाचीनस्तथैव च ।
 नेपाल-शीलहृदय गौड़कोशलमागधा ॥
 श्रोतुकला कुन्तला वृणाः कोङ्कणः कैकयस्तथा ।
 शूरसेनः कीरवाय सिंहलाय पुलिन्दका ॥
 कच्छसेवनमद्राय सीवीरलाटवर्धरा ॥
 मत्स्या सैन्धव इत्येत षट्पञ्चाश प्रकीर्तिता ॥
 कादिदेशाः समाख्याता ह्यदिदेशाः शृणु प्रिये ।
 अङ्ग वङ्ग कलिङ्गय कालिङ्ग स्यात् सुवीरक ॥
 काश्मीरयेव काश्मीजा सीराष्ट्रो मगधस्तथा ।
 महाराष्ट्रो मालवस्तु नेपालः केरलस्तथा ॥
 चीलयां चालगौड़ाय मलयांडय सिंहल ।
 व्योङ्गविङ्गो व्योन्तयेव कार्णाटो लाट एव च ॥
 मलाटयेव पानाटाः पावाद्याम्बक पुलिन्दका ।
 वृणकौरवगन्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहका ॥
 वाङ्मोक वर्धरो देवि कैकयः कोशलोऽपि च ।
 कुन्तलय किलातय शूरसेनय सेवर ॥
 वनाटः टङ्गणयेव कोङ्कण मत्स्यमद्रकौ ।
 मैङ्ग सैन्धव सन्ध्याः पाञ्चकीकौ ततः स्मृती ॥
 योज्जाल यवनी देवि जलजालम्बसालला ।
 सिन्धुय वंशदेशाय ह्यदि पर्यायबाधका ॥

The countries in which the *Kādi* mode of practice was prevalent are therefore—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kāliṅga (probably meaning 'outer Kaliṅga'), Kerala, Kāśmīra, Kāmarūpa, Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣṭra, Drāviḍa, Tailiṅga, Malayādri, Kaṇṇāṭa, Avanti, Vaidarbha, Sarpa (?), Ābhīra, Mālava, Caula (?), Cāla (? Cola), Kāmboja, Vairādra (? Vairāṭ), ? , Videha (?), Bālhika, Kirāta, Kaikaṭa, Āvantaka, Airāka, Bhoṭa, Cīna, Mahācīna, Nepāla, Śīlahaṭṭa, Gauḍa, Kośala, Māgadha, Snotkola (? Utkala), Kuntala, Huṇa, Koṅkaṇa, Kekaya, Śūrasena, Kaurava, Simhala, Pulinda, Kaccha, Sevana (?), Madra, Lāṭa, Varvara, Matsya and Saindhava. There are however 53 names in this list (of which one could not be read) instead of 56 as spoken of.

The countries in which the *Hādi* mode of practice was prevalent are the following—Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kāliṅga, Suvraka, Kāśmīra,

Kāamboja, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Mahārāṣṭra, Mālava, Nepāla, Kerala, Cola, Cāla (?), Gauḍa, Malaya, Aṇḍa (?), Siṃhala, Vyoṅka, Vīḍa, Vyoṇḍa, Kārṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Malāṭa, Pānāṭa, Pāvā (?), Andh(r)aka, Pulinda, Huṇa, Kaurava, Gāndhāra, Vidarbha, Videha, Bālīka, Varvara, Kēkaya, Kośala, Kuntala, Kilāta, Śūrasena, Severa (? Sauvīra), Vanāṭa, Taṅkaṇa, Koṅkaṇa, Matsya, Madra, Māida, Saindhava, Pārśvakīka, Dyorjāla, Yavana, Jala (?), Jālandha(ra), Sālva and Sindhu. There are 56 names in this list but some of them cannot be identified. Besides many of the names are common to both the lists.

In the 5th chapter (paṭala) there is an enumeration of various Tantrik sects, their distribution and the account of Tantrik literature prevalent in various countries (fols. 27a-28b). The Tantrik traditions, generally speaking are twofold—*Kādi* and *Hādi*, each of which has again nine divisions :—

कादिहादिभेदेन द्विधा चाख्यायसंज्ञतिः ।

हादौ नव-विधत्वं च कादौ नवविधत्वकम् ॥

These nine divisions of each of the *āmnāyas* are not however mentioned. The Tantrik tradition is again said to be fourfold according to the geographical order—East, West, South and North. The four principal sects according to this division are—*Kerala*, *Kāśmīra*, *Gauḍa* and *Vilāsa*. The *Kerala* sect is prevalent in all countries from Aṅga to Mālava, the *Kāśmīra* in countries from Madra to Nepāla, the *Gauḍa* in countries from Śilahaṭṭa to Saindhava and the *Vilāsa* sect is prevalent in all countries...

Another general classification into three is also mentioned—*Divya*, *Kaula* and *Vāma*. Each of these sects is again divided into two—*hārda* (inner) and *bāhya* (outer)—

केरलयेव काश्मीरो गौडयेव तृतीयकः ।

विलासाख्ययतुर्थः स्वात् तत्क्रमं ग्रन्थ पार्श्वति ॥

चन्द्रादि मालवानं च केरलः परिकीर्तितः ।

मद्रदेशं समारभ्य नेपालानं महीश्वरि ॥

काश्मीराख्य-सम्प्रदायः कथितः परमेश्वरि ।

शिलहटं समारभ्य सेन्धवान्तं महीश्वरि ॥

गौडमार्गे महीशानि कीर्तितानि मया तव ।

विलासाख्यः सम्प्रदायः सर्व्वगः परिकीर्तितः ॥...

The number of Tantras current in various countries is enumerated as follows—In *Cīna*—100 principal *tantras* and 7 subsidiary ones; in *Drāviḍa*—20 principal ones and 25 subsidiary ones; amongst the *Jainas*—18 principal ones and 20 subsidiary ones; in *Kerala*—60 principal works and 500 subsidiary ones; in *Kāśmīra*—100 principal works and 10 subsidiary ones and in *Gauḍa*—27 principal works and 16 (? *kalā*) subsidiary ones.

The *āmnāyas* are also said to be sixfold—Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern, upper and lower (*pātāla*): in the *Western class*—Aghora, Śākinī, Vaiṣṇava philosophy, the Bhairavas following Rudra, the Bhairavī called Caitanya and the Sadyojāta (?); in the *Northern class*—Gāṇapa philosophy, Kuvera-Bhairava, Vāmadeva-maheśvara, Mahogrāvidyā; in the *Southern class*—Tripurā, Saura, Gāṇapa, Vaiṣṇava.

In the 5th chapter the story of the origin of Nīlasarasvatī is narrated, we have already referred to it in course of a previous study (*ante*, p. 43).

In the sixth chapter there is a detailed enumeration of the literature of various sects (fol. 336). The *Saiva-Tantras* are—32 Tantra, 325 Upatantra, 10 Saṁhitā, 1+4 (—5?) Arṇava, 2 Yāmala, 3 Dāmara, 1 Uḍḍāla, 2 Uḍḍīśa, 8 Kalpa, 8 Upasaṁkhyā (?), 2 Cūḍāmaṇi, 2 Vimarṣiṇī, 5 Avatāraṇaka (belonging to the Buddhists), 5 Sūkta, 2 Cintāmaṇi, 9 Purāṇa, 3 Upasajña, 2 Kakṣapuṭi, 3 Kalpadruma, 2 Kāmadhenu, 3 Sabhāva, and 5 Tattva.

The *Vaiṣṇava-Tantras*—75 Tantra, 205 Upatantra, 20 Kalpa, 8 Saṁhitā, 1 Arṇavaka, 5 Kakṣapūṭa, 8 Cūḍāmaṇi, 2 Cintāmaṇi, 2 Uḍḍīśa, 2 Dāmara, 1 Yāmala, 5 Purāṇa, 3 Tattvabodha-vimarṣiṇī, 2 Amṛtatarpaṇa (?).

The *Saura-Tantra*—30 Tantra, 96 Tattva (?), 4 Saṁhitā, 2 Upasaṁhitā, 5 Purāṇa, 10 Kalpa, 2 Kakṣapuṭi, 3 Tattva, 3 Vimarṣiṇī, 5 Cūḍāmaṇi, 2 Dāmara, 2 Yāmala, 5 Uḍḍāla, 2 Avatāra, 2 Uḍḍīśa, 3 Amṛta, 3 Darpaṇa, 3 Kalpa.

The *Gāṇapatya-Tantra*—50 Tantra, 25 Upatantra, 2 Purāṇa, 2 Amṛta, 3 Sāgara, 3 Darpaṇa, 5 Amṛta, 9 Kalpakā, 3 Kakṣapuṭi, 2 Vimarṣiṇī, 2 Tattva, 2 Uḍḍīśa, 3 Cūḍāmaṇi, 3 Cintāmaṇi, 1 Dāmara, Candra-yāmala, 8 Pañcarātra.

In the 7th chapter there is a sixfold classification of the Tantrik Sādhana (fols. 38a-40b) from various points of view—

I. *Vaṭuka-mata*—According to it the Vidyās in the six āmnāyas are enumerated as—(i) *Pūrva*—Gāyatrī, Aindrī, Brahmadevyā, Gandharva, Mahāgaṇapati, Ardhanārīśvarī, Mrtyuñjaya, Śrutidharī, Mātṛkā, Sarasvatī, Caṇḍa-yogeśvarī, Śāmbhavi, Śrīparāparā, Kāmarājeśvarī, Tripura-bhairavī, Caitanya-bhairavī, Rudra-śakti, Kāmeśvarī, Mahā-tripura-bhairavī, Aghora-

bhairavī, Tripura-Nikṛnta-bhairavī, Annapūrṇā, Kukkuṭā, Śivā, Bhogavatī; (ii) *Paścima*—Kubjikā, Saṁkarṣiṇī, Kriyā-saṁkarṣiṇī, Kāla-saṁkarṣiṇī, Mahāvidyā, Śūlinī, Mādhavī; (iii) *Uttara*—Caṇḍa-yogeśvarī, Cāmuṇḍā, Ratnavidyā, Siddha-vidyā; (iv) *Dakṣiṇa*—Māyā, Māyāvatī, Ramā, Dhanadā, Śavarī, Durgā, Reṇukā; (v) *Urdhva*—Sāmrājya-sundarī, Rājarājeśvarī, Mahā-sāmrājya-vidyā; (vi) *Pātāla*—Yakṣiṇī, Kinnarī, Siddhi, Pūtanā, Kavacā, Kuṣmāṇḍinī.

II. *Mahāmūrti-mata*—(i) *Pūrva*—Lopā, Agastya, Manu, Manu II, Agastya-vidyā II, Candra, the ruler of the Northern direction, Agastya-vidyā III, the lord of Nandī, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Durvāsā; (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—Vāgvādinī, Cāṇḍālī, Susukhī, Mātāṅginī, Māheśvarī; (iii) *Paścima*—Rājamātāṅginī, Laghu-vārāhī, Śūtiraskāriṇī, Svapna-vārāhī, Pādukā, Vārāhī-pādukā, Jambu-kikkikā, Śukā, Vāgeśī, Śukatuṅḍā, Mohinī, Kīrādinī, Kṣemaśūkarī; (iv) *Uttara*—Śūmūrti, Pādukā, Vārtālī (?) Pādukā, Śrī-mahā-timirāvatī, Kālamāyā, Cāmuṇḍā; (v) *Urdhva*—Ṣoḍaśī, Śrī-parā-vidyā, Carāṇa-rūpiṇī, Six sāmabhava-(vidyā); (vi) *Pātāla*—?

III. *Āmnāya*-division—(i) *Pūrva*—64 tantras, 670 (?) upatantras; (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—400 tantras, 375 upatantras; (iii) *Paścima*—? tantras, 96 upatantras; (iv) *Uttara*—25 tantras, 364 upatantras; (v) *Urdhva*—64 tantras, 85 upatantras; (vi) *Pātāla*—105 tantras, 700 upatantras.

IV. *Dikṣāmnāya*—(i) *Pūrva*—Vidyā called *Lamayā* लमयाय, Śrīvidyā, Bāla-tripurā, Annapūrṇā, 10 tantras, 5 upatantras; (ii) *Paścima*—Vagālā, Mahiṣaghnā, Mahālakṣmī with 8 tantras and 9 upatantras issuing from the mouth of Dakṣa, Mahāsarasvatī, Vāgvādinī, Pratyamgīrā, Bhavānī; (iii) *Uttara*—20 tantras, and 8 upatantras, Kālikā, Tārā, Mātāṅginī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī [100 tantras, 9 upatantras]; (iv) *Dakṣiṇa*—20 tantras, 3 upatantras, Parā-vidyā of 22 kinds; (v) *Pātāla*—Nāgaśakti, 9 tantras, 2 upatantras; The *ūrdhva*mnāya has been dropped through some mistake of the copyist; probably the portion within brackets refers to that *āmnāya*.

V. *Darśana-paryāya*—(i) *Pūrva*—Śākta with 100 tantras and 8 upatantras; (ii) *Dakṣiṇa*—Śaiva with 50 tantras and 5 upatantras; (iii) *Paścima*—Vaiṣṇava with (*tattva*) tantras and upatantras of the same number; (iv) *Uttara*—Gāṇapa with 70 tantras and 3 upatantras; (v) *Urdhva*—Saura with 12 tantras and 10 upatantras and (vi) *Pātāla*—Bauddha with 100 tantras and 63 upatantras.

This division follows the *Hādī-mata* but according to the *Kādi*, Śaiva is in the *East*, Vaiṣṇava in the *South*, Gāṇapa in the *West*, Saura in the *North*, Śākta in the *upper* [and Bauddha in the *nether*] *āmnāya*.

III. *Brahmayāmala*

I have referred to this palm-leaf MS. more than once in the first two articles. It contains important materials for the history of the Tantrik literature and this is why I have thought it fit to deal at length with some chapters of the text which appeared to me to be interesting from that point of view. The MS. is dated 172 Nepal *Saṃvat* (=1052 A.D.)—the writing is old hooked Newari [*cf.* H. P. Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue* II. p. 60] but the text probably is a compilation of the 8th century A.D. (*cf. ante*, p. 7).

In the first *paṭala* of the work, called *Akṣara-vidhāna*—the *Īśvara* relates the origin of the Tantras. He says that he worshipped the Lord *Śrikanṭha* devotedly for thousands of years and *Śrikanṭha* being thus propitiated communicated to him the great store of spiritual knowledge in a *versified* language :

शानीघलु समाख्यातः पदवन्धजनेन (?) तु ।

श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रसादेन सर्वोऽयं परिणतो मम ॥

The *Īśvara* then tells his consort—"I gave you that knowledge out of kindness but you communicated it to your followers without my permission. You were therefore cursed by me for having thus abused the sacred knowledge. But when you implored and begged for pardon I ordered you to go and incarnate on earth and to come back to me after worshipping me. Thereafter you incarnated yourself in the house of the Brahmin Meghadatta in the village of Kaṇavīra near Prayāga. There you worshipped me for thirteen years and attained spiritual perfection by propitiating me in the form of a *liṅga*."

ततोऽवतीर्णा महाक्षी प्रयागं च समीपतः ।

कण्वीरे महायामे मेघदत्तगृहे शुभे ॥

शक्तिका तव सञ्जाता तव नाम न संशयः ।

ततो महान्वया भक्त्या बुद्धिसम्पन्नया हृदं ॥

आराधितो महादेवि सततं लिङ्गपूजया ।

तत्र त्रयोदशे वर्षे सिद्धास्यं शक्तिं न यदा (?) ॥

खेचरत्वमवाप्नोषि सम्प्राप्तो च समार्तिकं ।

The *Īśvara* then narrates the secret knowledge as it was communicated by *Śrikanṭha*. "The supreme energy (*parāśakti*) of the ultimate being, the Siva, assumed the form of desire (*icchā*). The *bindu* was energised by this desire and from it the pure spiritual knowledge emanated. *Sadāśiva* represents this knowledge in its plenitude and from him the creation

started. This knowledge was communicated in 125 thousand *anuṣṭup* verses by Amṛta to others and through generations to Śrīkaṇṭha. Śrīkaṇṭha communicated it to others in amplified versions in crores of ślokaś, and I will communicate in my turn to you exactly the 125 thousand of verses which I received from him."

श्रीकण्ठेन मङ्गान् प्रोक्तं भूत्वा सदाशिवपदात् ।
 सरहस्यं महादेवि शृणुष्वे कायमानसा ॥
 अचिन्त्यं पराशक्तिः शिवस्य परमात्मनः ।
 इच्छानामेन सञ्जातः तथा विन्दुप्रबोधितः ॥
 प्रबुद्धस्य ततो विन्दो ज्ञानीर्धं निष्कलं ततः ।
 अभिव्यक्तो महादेवि अकस्मात् मन्त्रवियङ्गः ॥
 ज्ञानसम्पूर्णदेहस्तु सदाशिवपदे स्थितः ।
 तस्मात् सदाशिवा.....ततः सृष्टेरभूत् पुनः ॥
तत्त्वमालां स्वभावतः ।
 लोकस्य हितकाम्यया असताल्येन सुव्रते ॥
 निबन्धन् समासेन ज्ञानीर्धं विमलात्मकः ।
 अनुष्टुप्] कुन्दोवन्धेन सपादेन महात्मना ।
 लक्षसंख्येन.....मन्त्रज्ञान-क्रियात्मकः ॥...
 परापरेण देवेन श्रीकण्ठाय प्रभाषितं ।...
 सपादलक्षसंख्यातं मया ज्ञानं यथार्थतः ।
 तथापि ज्ञानदटायाः सम्प्रवर्त्यामि साम्प्रतं ॥

The Īśvara then tells his consort about the various collections of these verses which would be communicated in different parts of the country : "The Bhairava communicated to Krodha-Bhairava 125 thousand ślokaś. The Kapāla-Bhairava will make a collection of 24,000 verses and communicate it to a Brahmin of the Kurukṣetra.....Padmabhairava will communicate a collection of 24 thousand to Devadatta born in the Oḍra country. From him the following 14 disciples will receive the knowledge :—

(1) Rakta-Bhairava; (2) Jvālā; (3) Helā; (4) Vāma and (5) Vijaya—both born in Madhyadeśa as Atharvan; (6) Sisaṁsa—born in Saurāṣṭra in Sūdra family; (7) Gajakarṇa; (8) Caṇḍa—born in the Sindhu country; (9 and 10) Sisaṁsa and Gajakarṇa—both Kṣatriya princes; (11) Yajña-soma—(?) an Atharvan Brahmin; (12) ?, (13) ?, (14) ?. The last of them a Brahmin will worship the goddess Br̥hodarī in the outskirts of a village called Br̥hodarī, after the name of the goddess and will attain spiritual

knowledge (*vidyā*). He will get the sacred lore from Padmabhairava, attain perfection and become the maker of Tantras."

The 39th Chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* called *Srotanirṇaya* is of great interest for the classification of the Tantras. This chapter has been referred to above, and partially utilised, cf. p. 5. On being questioned by his consort, the Deva (= Śiva) explains the three traditions (*srotas*) called *Dakṣiṇa*, *Vāma* and *Madhyama*. These traditions follow the three *Śaktis* of the great God which encompass the three worlds and their beings. The *Dakṣiṇa-śrota* is characterised by the predominance of the *Sattva guṇa*, the *Vāma*—by the *Rajas* and the *Madhyama*—by the *Tamas*. Hence those beings that are placed in the *Dakṣiṇa*—are pure (*śuddha*), those that are placed in the *Vāma*—are mixed (*miśra*) and those that are placed in the *Madhyama*—are unclean (*aśeṣa-mala-rañjita*).

शक्तिवयं समाख्यातं...मूर्त्तिस्तदासनः ।
 परापरस्य देवस्य सर्वकार्यार्थसाधनं ।
 ताभिर्व्याप्तमिदं सर्वं तैलोकं सचराचरं ।
 पशुनां पतययैव ताभिर्व्याप्तं न संशयः ।
 दक्षिणाधिष्ठितः कश्चित् वामधाधिष्ठितो परः ।
 मध्यमाधिष्ठितः कश्चित् विधा जन्तु व्यवस्थितः ।
 सत्त्वाधिकस्तथा कश्चित् कश्चिद्वैव रजोधिकः ।
 तमोधिकस्तथा कश्चिच्छक्तिमेदेन संस्थितः ।
 दक्षिणाधिष्ठितः शुद्धो मित्रो वामाययस्तथा ।
 अशेषमलसन्दोहरक्षितो मध्यमाश्रयः ॥ (fol. 160*)

The Tantras also follow these three traditions and may be classified accordingly. The Tantras of each class follow a particular line of *Sādhana* (*kriyā-bheda*). Hence there are three classes of Tantras—*Dakṣiṇa* or *śuddha*, *Vāma* or mixed (*vimiśra*) and *Madhyama* or *aśuddha*. Seven crores of Mantras belong to the *Dakṣiṇa* tradition, seven crores to the *Vāma* tradition and three and a half crores to the *Madhyama* tradition. These are said to have been promulgated by Gurus like Śrīkaṇṭha and others.

(1) The *Dakṣiṇa* tradition issued forth from the right mouth of Śiva. It is classified according to the four *pīṭhas* and also as pure and impure. The four *pīṭhas* are *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Mantra-*, *Mudrā-*, and *Maṇḍala-*. There are eight Bhairavas belonging to the *Vidyāpīṭha*—*Svacchanda*, *Krodha*, *Unmatta*, *Ugra*, *Kapālī*, *Jhaṅkāra*, *Sekhara* and *Vijaya*. The eight *Yāmala*s belonging to this *pīṭha* are—*Rudrayāmala*, *Skanda-*, *Brahma-*, *Viṣṇu-*, *Yama-*,

Vāyu-, *Kuvera*-, and *Indra*-. Those Tantras that belong to this *Piṭha* are—*Yoginī jāla*, *Yoginīhṛdaya*, *Mantramālīnī* (?), *Aghoreśī*, *Aghoreśvari*, *Kṛīḍāghoreśvari*, *Lākinīkalpa*, *Mārīci*, *Mahāmārī* (?) and *Ugravidyāgaṇa*.

The Bhairavas belonging to the *Mantrapīṭha* are *Vīra-Bhairava*, *Caṇḍa-Bhairava*, *Guḍakā-Bhairava*, *Mahā-Bhairava*, and *Mahā-vīreśa*. The two *pīṭhas*, *Maṭra*- and *Mudra*- are closely connected and the *Mudrās* are distinguished by the varieties of *Mantra*. The *maṇḍalas* are determined by the presence of Gods like *Śiva* and *Rudra* who are derived from the *Mudrā-pīṭha*.

(2) The middle current or tradition issued forth from the upper mouth of *Śiva*. The Tantras which belong to this current are—*Vijaya*, *Niśvāsa*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Vāthula*, *Virabhadra*, *Raurava*, *Mākūṭa* and *Vīreśa*. These belong to the *Śiva* class. The Tantras of a still higher class belonging to the *Rudra* class are—*Candrajñāna*, *Vimba*, *Prodgīta*, *Lalita*, *Siddha-santāna*, *Sarvodgīta*, *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara*.

The gods and sages who have divulged the knowledge of *Śiva* (*Siva-jñāna*) are *Īśvara*, *Mahādevī*, *Brahmā*, *Virabhadra*, *Kumāra*, *Nandīśvara*, *Mahākāla*, *Uśanā*, *Bṛhaspati*, *Dadhīci*, *Kaca*, *Lakulīśa*,...*Sanatkumāra*, *Viṣṇu* and *Parameśvara*. The *Īśvara* communicated the *Vijaya*, the *Devi* the *Niśvāsa*, *Brahma* the *Svāyambhuva* and *Virabhadra*, *Kumāra*—the *Āgneya*, *Nandī* the *Raurava*, *Mahākāla* the *Candrajñāna* (?), *Uśanā* the *Vīreśa* which is the *Āṅgīrasa* knowledge, *Dadhīci* the *Mūlavimba*, *Kaca* the *Prodgīta*, *Lalitā* the *Lalita*, *Brahmā* the *Kiraṇa*, *Viṣṇu* the *Sarvodgīta*, and *Parameśvara* the *Pārameśvara*.

This *Śiva* lore was established in multifarious forms on this earth and all kinds of beings attained perfection by practising the *Mantras* promulgated through these Tantras.

IV. *Pīṅgalamata*

The text is preserved in the Darbar Library in a Palm-leaf MS. dated Nepal Samvat 294=1174 A.D. (cf. ante, p. 7). The introductory chapter called *Vyākhyāprakarāṇa* and the first chapter called *Praśnaprakarāṇa* (1^a-6^b) are full of materials which are of interest to the historian of the Tantra literature. The text is narrated in the form of a conversation between the goddess *Pīṅgalā* and the Bhairava.

The Bhairava at first explains the words like *Āgama*, *Sāstra*, *Jñāna*, *Tantra*, etc. It is called *Āgama* because spiritual knowledge proceeds from it to every direction. It is called *Sāstra* because everything is controlled

and protected by it. It is *Jñāna* because everything can be known with its help and it is *Tantra* because everything is always preserved and perpetuated by it.

आङ् भावस्तु(?) समन्ताच्च गम्यतेत्यागमो मतः ।

यास्यते वायते यस्मात् तस्माच्छास्त्रमुदाहृतम् ।

आयते नयते येन ज्ञानं तेनाभिधीयते ।

तनुते चायते नित्यं तन्मन्त्रित्वं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

The Tantra, first communicated by Siva came down through tradition. It is Āgama, with the characteristics of *Chandas*. It is learnt by the *Paṇḍitas* for the benefit of the listeners but it is really meant for the *sādhakas*.

कुन्दोलक्षणसंसिद्धमागमेत्यभिधीयते ।

श्रीवृक्षतुल्यायेन स च ज्ञेयस्तु पण्डितैः ॥

The composition (*sambandha*) is of two kinds—general (*sādhāraṇa*) and particular (*asādhāraṇa*). All other Tantras belong to the former class as they are well-known whereas the present Tantra is *asādhāraṇa* as it is not well-known. While narrating a Tantra four things are to be kept in mind—denomination (*abhidhāna*), cause (*nimitta*), maker (*kartā*), and extent (*pārimāṇa*). First of all the question of necessity (*prayojana*) arises and then the question of the maker.

स च साधारणो ह्येकस्त्वन्तोऽसाधारणो भवेत् ।

स वै ततः प्रसिद्धस्तु साधारणः स उच्यते ॥

अस्य तन्त्रस्य यः सिद्धस्तदासाधारणं विदुः ।

इदानीं संप्रवक्ष्यामि सम्बन्धोऽत्रैव यद्विदुः ॥

अभिधाननिमित्तञ्च कर्तारं परिमाणकम् ।

प्रयोजनं कथित्वादी पश्चादक्ता तु वर्णयेत् ॥

What is the denomination of this Tantra? Its denomination is *Piṅgalāmata*. It follows the *Pratiṣṭhākalpa* called the *Jayadratha* (*yāmala*?) belonging to the *Brahmayāmala*. It was composed for the goddess *Piṅgalā*. Bhagavān Śrīkaṇṭha is its maker and its extent is 8,000 verses. It is again of two kinds—*Kāmarūpī* and *Uḍḍiyānī*. This is *Kāmarūpī*. Its necessity is to promulgate the method of establishing the *līṅga*, both manifested and unmanifested.

अस्य तन्त्रस्य का संज्ञा, पिङ्गलामतसंज्ञा । प्रतिष्ठाकल्पं जयद्रथाधिकारं ब्रह्मयामलस्यानुयातीति च पिङ्गला-
भारकायाः निमित्तम् । कः कर्ता, भगवान् श्रीकण्ठनाथः कर्ता । कियन्तः परिमाणाः, अष्ट सहस्रमिति ।

स च द्विविधं कामरूपोडयानी च । अयच्च कामरूपी किं प्रयोजनम् । व्यक्ताव्यक्तलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापकम् । परिज्ञापनार्थ-प्रयोजनमिति ।

When the form of the *līṅga* is manifested it is *vyakta*, when it is unmanifested it is *avyakta* and when it possesses both the characteristics it is *vyaktāvyakta*.

Then follows a logical disquisition :

प्रागेवाभिसम्बन्धी वक्तव्यः । स च द्विविधः । अवतार्यावतारकलक्षणः सम्बन्धः, व्यङ्गाव्यङ्गक-
लक्षणः सम्बन्धः, प्रकाश्य-प्रकाशकलक्षणः सम्बन्धयेति । तवावतार्यावतारकलक्षणः सम्बन्ध उच्यते ।
शाचार्यस्य च शास्त्रस्यावतार्यशास्त्रस्याचार्यावतारकमिति । व्यङ्गाव्यङ्गकलक्षणः सम्बन्ध उच्यते । लक्षणस्य
लक्षं व्यञ्जनम् । लक्षस्य लक्षणं व्यङ्गकमिति । प्रकाश्य प्रकाशकलक्षणः सम्बन्ध उच्यते । शब्दस्यार्थः
प्रकाशोऽयं शब्दं प्रकाशकमिति ।

The seven Tantras which follow the *Brahmayāmala* are: *Daurvāsyaṁ*, *Pācikaṁ*, *Sārasvatāmataṁ*, *Jayadratha*, *Phetkāra*, *Raktādyā(?)* and *Lampatādyā (?)*. Amongst these the *Jayadratha* again consists of seven sūtras—*Sūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, *Śaktisūtra*, *Kriyāsūtra*, *Vimalajñāna* and *Sarvasandoha*.

दीर्घास्त्रं पैचिकं चैव सारस्वतमतं तथा ।
जयद्रथस्य फेत्कारं पञ्चमं परिकीर्तितं ।
रक्ताद्यं लंपटाद्यच्च सप्तधा ब्रह्मयामलं ।
एतेषां सप्तविधसूत्रजातीनां मध्ये किमिति—
जयद्रथमेतत् जयद्रथमपि सप्तविधसूत्रं—
सूत्रं सूत्ररसूत्रञ्च शक्तिसूत्रं क्रियाङ्गयम् ।
विमलज्ञानसंज्ञा च सर्वसन्दोह सप्तमम् ॥

The present text, the *Piṅgalāmata*, belongs to the *Kalpārtha* sub-division of the *Kriyāsūtra*. The *Kriyāsūtra*, which is one of the seven classes of Tantras mentioned above is of five kinds and amongst these the *Kalpārtha* is an important class.

विनागावैतरणव(?) मन्त्रध्यानसमन्विता ।
कल्पार्थसन्नियुक्ता च पञ्चधा तु क्रिया मता ।

एतेषां पञ्चविधक्रियासूत्राणां मध्ये किमिति । कल्पार्थसन्नियुक्त-सूत्रमेतत् । कल्पार्थमिति किम् ?
कल्पसार्थकः कल्पार्थः, कल्पार्थेन सम्यक्कृतः कल्पार्थसन्नियुक्तः । अथवा

मन्त्रदीक्षाविग्रहसु स्थाधिकारपदान्वितः ।
कुर्याद्विज्ञानार्थं मनो ज्ञात्वा लिङ्गं सलक्षणं ।

मन्त्रमपि लिङ्गं यतो लिङ्गाश्रयात् प्राप्तं देवत्वं विष्टपैरपि । अतः सिद्धार्थकस्तस्माद्विज्ञानमेवं समाश्रयेत् ।

The concluding portion of the 'Introductory chapter deals with the methods of explanation, the time suitable for it and some introductory rites.

The first chapter the *Praśnaprakaraṇa* begins with a definition of *liṅga* and a description of the *Ācāryas* who are competent to worship it.

लघं वै हेतुसंसिद्धं लघं भावसम्मतम् ।
 शास्त्रोक्तं लघं चापि प्रमाणं दीर्घमिष्यते (?) ॥
 उन्निनोति पदोक्तानं विभागं लिङ्गरूपकम् ।
 लीयते प्रलयान्ते च चङ्गतो (?) सृजते पुनः ॥
 लयनाङ्गमनाद्यैव लिङ्गमित्यभिधीयते ।
 लिङ्गं वा चिह्नमित्याहुः चिह्नं हि सुद्रमेव च ॥
 सुद्रा प्रत्ययकृत्तुं श्रुतीनुग्रहेतुकम् ।
 लिङ्गवाचकमेतद्विनायथाश्रयणं व्रतम् ॥
 तल्लिङ्गं द्विविधं प्रोक्तं चलाचलविमोचदम् ।
 भोगदं यद्वेङ्गोक्तिं शिवेनागमतः शृणु ॥

Then follows the distinction between *sādhāraṇa* and *viśeṣa*—

विश्वोत्तरगतेनैव मगधाज्ञापरिण नु ।
 हिमाद्रे दक्षिणे भागे पश्चालात् पूर्वतस्तथा ।
 आय्यावर्त्त इति ख्यातस्तद्ववाचार्यसाधको ।
 अयजन्मकुलोद्भूतो सर्वसाधारणो यतः ।
 विशेषणञ्च तथा भूमि अयथी शक्तिवाचकः ।
 शक्त्यन्तं जनितं जन्मजन्मायेत्यभिधीयते ।
 कपूर्वाटविनिर्मुक्तो अन्यदेशोद्भवोऽपि ।
 कामरूपकच्छकाश्मोरो कालिङ्गी कोङ्कणीद्वौ ।
 काश्चिकोश्लका वै सौराष्ट्रावपि वर्जयेत् ।
 किमर्थं चेत् तत्सिद्धार्थं भोचार्यं सर्वज्ञी शुभौ ।
 शिवव्रतधराचार्यो नाति दीर्घोतिङ्गस्तकः ।
 प्रमाणेन न हीनाङ्गेन चापि अधिकांशकः ।
 सम्पूर्णावयवैर्द्विर्विचित्रो न शठ कश्चित् ।
 न मनो भान्तं वै चित्तो रूपं वै गौरमुत्तमम् ।
 लघलघणसंयुक्तः प्रतिष्ठा...न वेदकः ।
 विद्यावास्तुविधानज्ञो लिङ्गसूत्रविधानवित् ।
 ज्योतिषे च कृताभ्यासः योगाभ्यासरतः सदा ।
 साधको वासमानः स्वाद यदृश्यो नेति वा शृणु ।

गृहस्थो गृहस्थीयोगात् यागशीलो विधानवित् ।
उद्यानासत्त्वसम्पन्नः शिल्पज्ञावृद्धिकौशलः ।
श्रेष्ठोसौ सर्वकार्येषु अवाप्ति च विप्रपतः ।
शिवभक्तो नरकस्य गुरुसम्मतः शिल्पिराट् ॥

Those who are unfit for the worship of the *Linga* are described in the following verses :—

न काणो बधिरोन्मथ वोटकर्षा..... ।
क्षिप्रनासांगुलिपादं क्रूरो नो नाधिकानकः ।
न हीनापूर्णकायसु.....॥

The materials for making a *linga* are of various kinds—

शैलं तरु मृदं चैव सौवर्णं तामरीयकम् ।
चैत्यकांस्यवापुसं च कासीसायसजान्यपि ।
अष्टावोष्कजं चैव रत्नजं मणिसम्भवम् ।
तद्देतुस्थानकं.....
मेरुमन्दरकैलाशगन्धो विपुलनीलकौ ।
निषधईमकूटश्च सप्तार्चोप्यथ गङ्गवान् ।
श्वेतको भूधरा ह्येते महाचेतेश्वराः स्मृताः ।

The places fit for the installation of the *linga* are the seven *kulaparvatas* and the banks of the rivers issuing from them up to the distance of 10 *yojanas*

समिद्धानां प्रवक्ष्यामि ये यथा सम्भवानि हि ।
उज्जयन्ती हरिश्चन्द्रः युक्तिमान् कुलपर्वताः ।
नद्यो यास्तदिनिष्क्रान्ता...वनानि तु ।
नद्युभयतटे रम्ये उपपूर्वे नवानि द्वे (?) ।
एतेषां बाह्यतः स्थानं योजनानि दशैव च ॥

V. *Jayadrathayāmala*

The *Jayadrathayāmala* to which we have referred more than once is one of the most important and extensive tantras. It is divided into 4 parts called *ṣaṭka*, each containing 6,000 verses. The complete work is thus a *caturvimsāti-sāhasra*. The complete text of the 1st, 3rd and 4th *ṣaṭkas* and an incomplete text of the 2nd are preserved in the Darbar Library. As the MS. of the 4th part is of the end of the 12th century, and as it presupposes the existence of the first three *ṣaṭkas* we can assume

that the text is fairly old. The *Jayadrathayāmala* is also called *Siraścheda*, and as this *Siraścheda* is referred in a Cambodian inscription of the 9th-century (cf. ante, p. 15) the text was composed in India before that date. It is not however certain if all the 4 *ṣaṭkas* were known at that time. The *Jayadrathayāmala* however contains much important materials for the history of the Tantrik literature.

Ṣaṭka I (cf. Sastri, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, pp. 1ff.)—Folia 393 ; Slokas 6,000 written in Newari character; MS. dated 843=1723 A.D. Colophon :

इति भैरवस्तोत्रसि विद्यापीठे श्रीजयद्रथयामले महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे प्रथमषट्के श्रीकाल-
सङ्घर्षेणां विद्यासम्प्रदाय-षट्कमाहात्म्यादिवर्णनं पञ्चाशत्तमः पटलः इति समाप्तम् श्रीजयद्रथयामले प्रथम-
षट्कमिति शुभम् ।

The 35th chapter of this *ṣaṭka* called *Sambandhāvatāra* contains interesting information on the history of Tantrik literature.

सामान्यं च विशेषं च साधारणविशेषतः ।
विशेषतरसत्यञ्च शास्त्रमुक्तं चतुर्विधं ।
इतिहासपुराणानि गणितं काव्यनाटकं ।
कुन्दासि शब्दशास्त्रानि सामान्यविषयाणि तु ।
सर्वेषां वर्णिकाणां तु सामान्यवर्णादिकं ।
श्रुतिस्मृत्युपनिषदो मन्त्रसूत्रं प्रकल्पकं ।
आन्वीक्षिकं च विज्ञानं साधारणं विशेषणं ।
द्विजं ते..... जायन्ते नाधिकारिणः ।
सौरं शैवं पञ्चरात्रं प्रमाणं विभक्तं मतं ।
अथर्वं सांख्ययोगं च बौद्धमारुहतादिकं ।
विशेषाख्यं यतस्तत्र विशेषसमयात् स्थितिः ।
भैरवं वज्रयानं च गुह्यादुक्तसमाहृतं ।
भूततन्त्रादि तन्त्रं च विशेषतरमुच्यते ।
एवं चतुर्विधं शास्त्रं लौकिकाद्यं च पञ्चधा ।
लौकिकं वैदिकाध्यात्ममतिमार्गमध्यामैवं ।
फलभेदविभिन्नं च शास्त्रमेवं तु पञ्चधा ।...
एवमेतानि शास्त्राणि सामान्यादीनि यानि तु ।
न चाभिधातुं युगपच्छक्यते तानि केनचित् ।
युगपद्भक्तुमशक्यत्वा चतुर्णामथ तत् स्थितं ।
वाच्यमेकतमं शास्त्रं सामान्याद्यामनुक्रमात् ।

लक्षणादस्य शास्त्रस्य.....।
अथ सामान्यविशेषः सामन्तग्यकुपः प्रिये ।
शास्त्रावरणभिन्नस्य स्मृत्यन्तरमतस्य तु ।
अथ वै शेषशास्त्रस्य शैवसिद्धान्तदृष्टिः ।
शिवरुद्रमेदसंज्ञः क्रमो वाक्यो विपर्यिताः ।
विशेषतरशास्त्रस्य चतुःपञ्चगतस्य तु ।...

On the question of *Sambandha* and *Piṭha*—

श्रीलवकृविभेदेन तत्र विज्ञेयमर्थितं ।
संबन्धोयमभिप्रीति स्यान्मेदाडिमेयते ।
महेशान्तराख्यं च तथा वांतरमेव च ।
दिव्यं मिश्रमदिव्यं च षोढा संबन्धलक्षणं ।
चिदचिच्छक्तिसंबन्धं सहानुक्तो हृगात्मभिः ।
क्रियाधर्मप्रदेशात्मानं तथाख्याः प्रकीर्तितः ।
सदाशिवस्य बीराणां समादेशं विवर्तिता ।
बोध्यबोधकसंबन्धः प्रोच्यते वांतरात् भवा ।
सदाश्वपदावस्थो बोधकाद्यो मदन्तिकः ।
संबन्धो दिव्यसंज्ञस्तु मिश्रश्च सुानदैविकः ।
अद्वैतसुनिमानुसंबन्धोयं गुरुक्रमात् ।
योसौ परापरः प्रोक्तो देवः सदाशिवः ।
योगात्मानं तु वीर्यं पञ्चमन्त्रमहातनुः ।
व्यक्ताव्यक्तमयं तस्य व्यक्तानां तु चतुष्टयं ।
ज्ञानज्ञेयमयं चास्य व्यक्ताव्यक्तं च पञ्चमं ।
पञ्चवक्त्रस्व(?)सौ वीरः प्रसन्नस्रोतसां स्थितः ।

The piṭhas are four—*Mantrapīṭha*, *Vidyāpīṭha*, *Mudrāpīṭha* and *Maṇḍalapīṭha*.

The 36th chapter called *Sūtranirṇaya* contains an enumeration of the Tantras of various traditions. The Tantras of the *Vidyāpīṭha* are :—

सर्ववीरसमायोगं सिद्धायामिश्रौ मतं ।
पञ्चामृतं च विश्वायं योगिनौ जालशम्बरं ।
विद्याभेदं शिरस्त्रेदं महासम्बोहनं तथा ।
तथोत्तरं महारीद्रं रुद्रयामलमेव च ।
ब्रह्मयामलसंज्ञं च तथान्यं विष्णुयामलं ।
दश तु..... पञ्चदशं मतं ।
रुद्रमेदी हरिस्कन्दगौतमीयामलान्वितं ।

The last chapter of the 1st *ṣaṭka* (41st chapter) deals with the *Yāmala*, *Maṅgala*, *Aṣṭaka* and the lineage of the ancient *ṛṣis* who promulgated the Tantras. The eight *Yāmalas* have been mentioned in other places too, but the *Brahmayāmala* is the source of all (यामलानां तु सर्वेषां आसूलं ब्रह्मयामलं).

The eight *Maṅgalas* are—*Bhairavamaṅgalā*, *Candragarbha*, *Sāmaṅgala*(?), *Sumaṅgalā*, *Sarvamaṅgalā*, *Vijayā*, *Ugramaṅgalā*, and *Sadbhāva-maṅgalā*.

The *Cakrāṣṭakas* are—*Svaracakra*, *Varṇanāḍī*, *Guhyākhyā*, *Kālacakra*, *Saura*, *Hoya*(?) and *Soma*.

The *Śikhāṣṭaka*—*Saukrī*, *Mandā*(?), *Mahocchuṣmā*, *Bhairavī*, *Samvārī*, *Prapañcakī*, *Mātṛbhedī* and *Rudrakālī*.

The *ṛṣis* are—(1) *Durvāsā*, *Sanaka*, *Viṣṇu*, *Kapila*, *Kāśyapa*, *Kuru*, *Samvarta*, *San̄kha*pāla, *Bhairava*; (2) *Bṛghu*, *Svetonivīśa*(?), *Viśvāmitra*, *Gautama*, *Gālava*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Vibhāṁḍa*; (3) *Kurcāla*, *Kundana*, *Kaṁka*, *Kekara*, *Kānana*, *Kṣamī*, *Kātarākṣa*, *Samvarta*, *Manākhyā*; (4) *Vindu*, *Savindu*, *Sātātapa*, *Parāśara*, *Āpastamba*, *Bubhukhyā* a(?), *Kātyāyana*,... these are mentioned in the *Maṅgalāṣṭaka* as promulgators of Tantras.

(5) *Ulūka*, *Sthūlanāḍī*, *Harṁśa*, *Harṁśakha*, *Suka*, *Manu*, *Pītokṣaka*—are the promulgators, of *Cakrāṣṭaka*.

(6) *Vaśiṣṭha*, *Dakṣa*, *Sukra*, *Kanaka*, *Kokila*, *Suka*, *Viśvabhū*, *Kāśyapa* and *Sveta* promulgated the *Śivākhyā*.

(7) *Bṛhaspati*,.....*Ghaṁṭa*, *Kaṁkara*, *Syāmaka*, *Śikhi*, *Karṇajāta* and *Dhīṣa*.

(8) *Harṁśa*, *Soma*, *Anuloma*, *Viloma*, *Lomaka*, *Sata*, *Jāta* and *Vālmika*.

Ṣaṭka II (cf. *Sastri, Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, p. 175)—preserved in a copy dated 762 (i.e., 1642 A.D.). There is a very interesting *śloka* at the beginning—

तैलिकानां यत्तं गत्वा कुम्भकारयत्तं तु वा ।

तच्च तत्पतिभिः सादृश्यं यजित परमेश्वरीम् ।

The names of chapters are :

1. The first chapter of *Kālikātantra*, 2. *San̄karṣaṇārūpaka vidhāna*, 3. *Hum̄kāraṇa vidhi* of *Kālasan̄karṣaṇī*, 4. *Carcikā vidhi*, 5. *Ananda vidhāna*, 6. *Ḍambarakālī vidhi*, 7. *Yamakalpa*, 8. *Gahaneśvarī vidhi*, 9. *Ekatarā vidhi*, 10. *Savaśavarī*, 11. *Vajravatī*, 12. *Rakṣākālī*, 13. *Indivarīkālīkā*, 14. *Dhanadākālīkā*, 15. *Ramaṇī*, 16. *Isānakālī*, 17. *Mantramātā*,.....22. *Jivakālībr̄dayavidhi*, 23. *Saptākṣarābr̄daya*, 24.

Araṇṇatrayavidhi, 25. Rkṣakarṇi-, 27. Bhairavadākinī-, 28. Kālāntakī-, 29. Viryakālī-, 30. Prajñākālī-, 31. Saptārṇakālī-, 32. Kālībr̥dayavidhāna-, 33. Mantroddhāra, 34. Mantravīryanirdeśa-, 35. Dhyānārcanādhikāra, 36. Prathamapratihāra, Dvītiya-, Tṛtiya-, Caturtha-, 37. Śiraścheda śiva-sādhana vidhi, 38. Śikhāsādhana, 39. Kavaca-, 40. Astrasādhana-, 41. Siddhilakṣmī vidhāna...

Ṣaṭka III—The third *ṣaṭka* of the Jayadrathayāmala is preserved in MS. of about the 17th century; the writing is Newarī, cf. ante, p. 7, n. 2. The total number of pages is 215. The colophon runs thus—

एवमेतत् मया ख्यातं तन्ममेतदनुत्तमम् ।
वसिष्ठेन पुराधीतं नर-नारायणैरपि ॥
ब्रह्मणा मत्समीपे तु शिरःक्षेदं महाबलम् ।
बहुमन्त्रगणाकोशे तवाद्य प्रकटीकृतम् ॥...
तदास्य पश्चिमे जन्म ज्ञातव्यं नरसत्तमैः ॥
यदाकरगते तन्म शिरःक्षेदमनुत्तमम् ।
यज्ज्ञासाधारणात् अस्य स्वरश्चाने प्रवर्तते ॥...

इति भैरवस्रोतसि विद्यापीठे शिरःक्षेदे जगद्रथशमले महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसादृशे... (effaced)

The chapters are the following :

1. Praśnāvatāra.
2. Trailokyadāmaracakre mantroddhāraavidhi, 3. Trailokyadāmaracakre nyāsavidhi, 4. -dhyāna-, 5. Vyāpti. 6. Aṅgoddhāra, 7. Yāgādi-vidhi, 8. Sādhana-vidhi.
- 9-10. Pratyāṅgirā-vidhi.
11. Cakreśvarī-vidhau mantroddhāra, 12. Dhyāna, 13. Dikṣābhīṣeka,
14. Sādhana-prakaraṇa, 15. Kuṇḍaleśvarīvidhi.
16. Ghoratarācakre sahasrākṣarāyām mantroddhāraavidhi, 17. Vyāpti,
18. Dhyāna, 19. Caturvīmśati dikṣāvidhi. These are—
- (1) Tattvadikṣā, (2) Kāladikṣā, (3) Bhuvanadikṣā, (4) Padadikṣā,
- (5) Varṇa-, (6) Mantra-, (7) Śakti-, (8) Bindu-, (9) Nāda-, (10) Prāṇa-, (11) Jīva, (12) Cora-, (13) Sparśa-, (14) Vedha-, (15) Dhaṭa(?)-,
- (16) Vāstra-, (17). Ghaṭa-, (18) Sadyonirvāṇa-, (19) Nirvāṇa-, (20) Dikṣādvādaśavidhi-, (21) Ālokadikṣā, (22) Jñāna-.
- 20 Ghoratarā yūga, 21 -pātālasiddhi, 22 -cakravidhi.
- 23 Yoginīcakre śambarotpatti, 24 -sāmānyabr̥dayoddhāra, 25 Yoginī-saṅcāre cakroddhāra, 26 siddhayoga, 27 (?) 28 -kāla-jñāna, 29 -paramacakravidhāna, 30 -sāmānyaviśeṣa, 31 -samayācāre ceṣṭāvidhāna,
- 32 -kālacakraṣaṭkotpatti.

33. Avyapadeśyakālpavidhi, 34. Devīśvarūpanirūpaṇavidhi, 35. Bhāṣākrama, 36. Avatārakrama, 37. Kālikākrama, 38. Devatākrama, 39. Vratavidhi.

Ṣaṭka IV—The fourth *ṣaṭka* exists in the Darbar Library in an older MS. which probably belonged to Kanoj and was copied in the end of the 12th century or in the beginning of the 13th by a disciple of the Kulācārya of King Jayacandra. The colophon runs thus—

P. 339b—340a

इति भैरवस्रोतसि विद्यापीठे शिरस्तेदे जयद्रथयामले महातन्त्रे चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रे चतुर्थषष्ठके
महालक्ष्मीविधौ...सिद्धिपटलः। समाप्तं सुद्राष्टकं जयद्रथावतारे...समाप्तं परमरहस्यचतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं
सुतराजजयद्रथेन्द्रं। अधिगतसकलशास्त्रस्य योगिनोद्भवन्दितचरणद्वयगलस्य विविधविद्योत्तमां तत्करणस्य
महाकारणिकस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमज्जयचन्द्र-देवपूजितस्य-कुलाचार्य-श्रधरणोपादेव-नामधेयस्य शिष्येण
पण्डित-श्रीश्रीमदेवेन लिखितमिति। शुभमस्तु सर्वसत्त्वानां महात्मनाम्।

The names of the various chapters and sections are the following:

Mudrākośa, Sabdakāli vidhi, Kālikrama, Rābīṇī yāga, —sādhana, —cakre kulāvatāra, Vyaktinirdeśa, abhiṣeka, bhāgyāvaropaphalanī—, Purakṣobha—, Rābīṇīcakre vidveṣakāli, —tattvasvarūpa, —vidveṣakāli, —sarvakarmakarī, —saṁgrāmakalpa, —saptadaśārṇā, —mohakāli, —bhramareśvarī, —cakramelāpaka vidhi (in 7 sections), —kālikrama, —kālikākula, —kālikula, —mahābbāgyodaya, —nāgāśanī, —meghakāli, —priyākāli, —pāpāntaki, —sambhakāli, —kālarātri, —kāli, —melāpākāli, —nityakāli, —paramākṣarā, —netrakāli, —hṛdayakāli, —ekātarā, —vāg-vidhi, —caṇḍaroṣaṇī, —jagatkṣobhakāli, —bhairavamālīnī, —saṁhāra-cakrodaya, —kālasaṁvedanī, —siddhaprayoga-mañjarī, —bhairavānanā, —bhairavavyāpti, —nirālambakrama, —bhāva-saṁhārabheda, —ādyayāga, —vīratāṇḍava, —pustakārikāra, —vyākhyākrama, —guruśiṣyācāra, —siddha-yogēśvarī, —mahālakṣmīcakre devyutpatti-mantroddhāra.